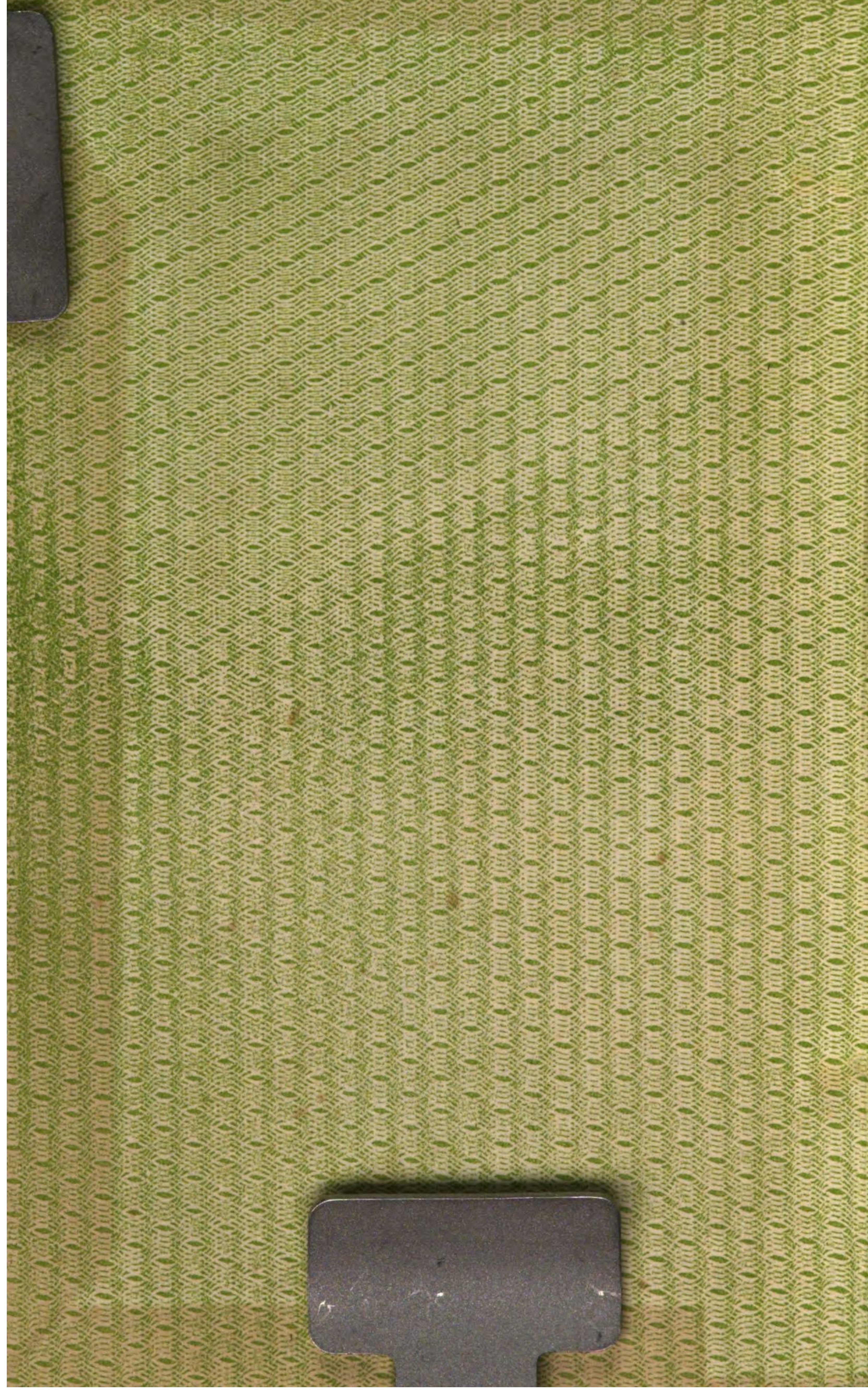




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HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

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HUME AND MACCARTHY,

WITH

A CONTINUATION

BY

THE REV. T. B. HUGHES, D.D.

VOL. III.



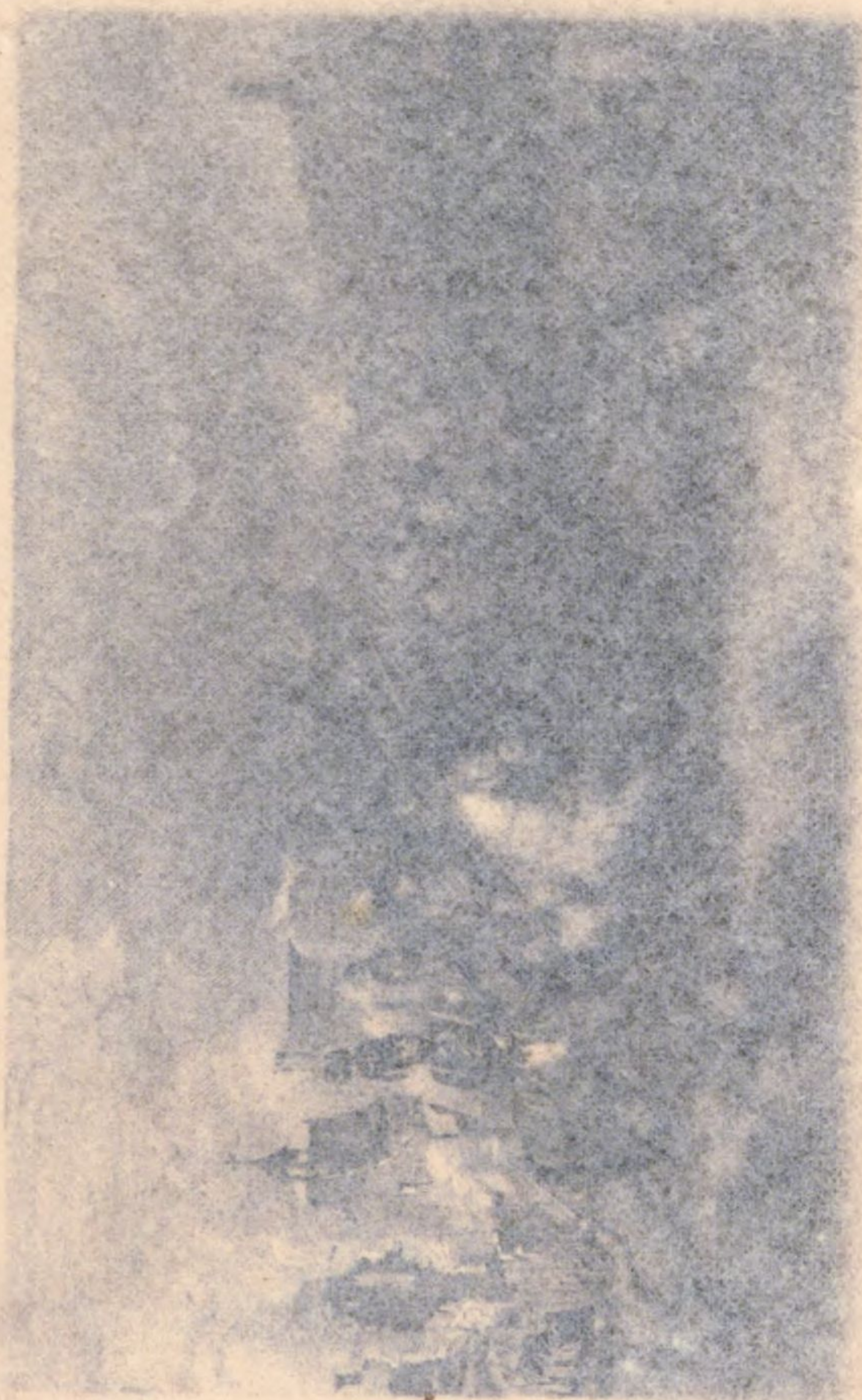
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BY

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LONDON:

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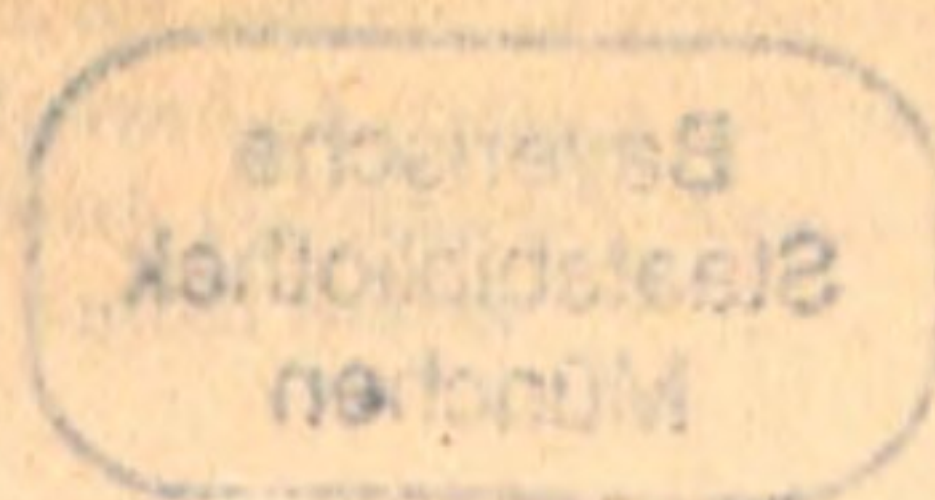
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THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B. D.

FROM THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND IN 1760.

With Historical Illustrations and Portraits.

A. D. 1813 to A. D. 1824.



THE
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE REV. G. S. HUGHES, B.D.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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THE British parliament met on the fourth of November, under more auspicious circumstances than had occurred since the commencement of the revolutionary war. The prince declared in his speech, that no disposition to require from France sacrifices inconsistent with her honor and just pretensions, would ever be an obstacle to peace; and that he was ready to enter

into discussion with the United States, on principles not opposed to the established maxims of public law, and the maritime rights of the British empire. On this occasion some of those statesmen in both houses, who had been most decided in their opposition to government, acknowledged the wisdom, and rejoiced in the success of that policy which they had formerly condemned; so that the addresses were carried without any division. After the treaties with Russia and Prussia had been laid before the houses, Lord Castlereagh introduced a bill for allowing three-fourths of any militia regiment to volunteer for foreign service; and so desirable did it appear that every possible exertion should be made for bringing the great continental contest to a speedy conclusion, that this bill passed through both houses without any opposition. The sanction of parliament was also obtained, without a dissentient voice, for a loan of £22,000,000; as well as for the aids granted to Sweden, Russia, and Austria, either in direct subsidies or in bills of credit. Two millions had been advanced to Spain, two to Portugal, and one to Sweden: the sum to be allowed to Russia and Prussia was estimated at £5,000,000; and the advance to Austria consisted of £1,000,000, together with 100,000 stand of arms and military stores in proportion. Men of all parties concurred in supporting the foreign policy of our cabinet; while many of its strongest opponents, particularly lord Holland and lord Grenville, expressed great approbation of the confidence reposed in it. The desired grants having been procured, ministers, not wishing to fatigue and harass members with long and constant attendance, proposed an adjournment from December to March. This motion excited some debate, as involving a contemptuous treatment of parliament, whose services seemed only required for the convenience of pecuniary grants; and it was thought that many subjects which called for deliberation, might be discussed even in the absence of lord Castlereagh, whom the regent had deputed to the head quarters of the allies in order to promote the interests of the grand confederacy: the majority, however, readily consented to this long suspension of the public business.

On the fourteenth of January, peace was re-established between Great Britain and Denmark; the former power engaging to restore all her conquests, except Heligoland; and the latter agreeing to join the allies with 10,000 men, on receiving a British subsidy of £400,000, and to accept from Sweden Pomerania in lieu of Norway. The mortifications of Napoleon

were also increased by the defection of his brother in law, the king of Naples, who engaged to assist Austria with 30,000 men, while he opened his ports to the English. This was perhaps the blow which Napoleon felt most severely; for in addition to Murat's perfidy, it overthrew a gigantic scheme which he had devised: the object of this was, that while he disputed the soil of France with its invaders, the king of Naples and Eugene Beauharnois should unite their forces in the rear of the allies, and march on Vienna. A considerable British force was sent, under Sir Thomas Graham, to create a diversion in Holland.

As Buonaparte had rejected the equitable terms proposed by the confederated princes, they determined to try the issue of the contest in France itself: about 400,000 men therefore prepared to cross the Rhine; the army of the Netherlands under Bulow, the Silesian army under Blucher, and the grand army under prince Schwartzenburg, which took a direction across the Upper Rhine, through Switzerland; and dearly did the French soon pay for the loss of that country's neutrality, which they had set the first example of breaking! In the mean time Napoleon was still in Paris, endeavoring to raise the nation *en masse*, with the desperation of a gamester who sets his last stake on the cast: of his council he demanded 'men; not the miserable striplings who choked his hospitals with sick, and the roads with their carcasses:' but he asked for what the exhausted country could not give. On the twenty-fifth of January, the allies had made such progress, that he thought it necessary to leave Paris, after entrusting his empress, whom he appointed regent, and her infant son to the national guards of his capital. Advancing from Chalons, and anxious to prevent the junction of his enemies, the emperor threw himself between Schwartzenburg and Blucher; but he directed his first blow against the latter, who happened to be at dinner in the castle of Brienne, the scene of Napoleon's early school-days, when the French drove in his outposts: the battle was not decisive; for the French retained the town, though the junction took place which they had endeavored to prevent; so that Blucher and Schwartzenburg engaged their antagonists, on the first of February, with a very great superiority of force, Alexander and Frederic William being both present with their armies. Attacked along their whole line, it required all the efforts of the French generals to keep the young conscripts firm before such overwhelming masses. By a desperate charge of Blucher, their centre was obliged to give way; but the wings, espe-

cially that under Gerard, nobly resisted, and covered the retreat; which, however, was not effected without the loss of many prisoners and cannon. Such was the ominous commencement of the campaign.

Blucher was now eager to push on toward Paris; and being joined by two fresh divisions, he separated his army from the Austrians, tardy by nature and from policy. It was not the wish of Francis to annihilate the power of his son-in-law; and the dangers of battle were not the greatest to which the allies were exposed: under the auspices of Austria, negotiations were opened at Chatillon, while Blucher persisted in advancing along the Marne. In these openings of accommodation, some new gleams of hope ever occurred to distract Napoleon from his forlorn condition, and lead him onwards to his final ruin.

Blucher's rash advance now inspired him with the plan of surprising and defeating the Prussians: the idea so possessed him, that he recalled a *carte blanche*, which he had given to Caulaincourt, when he sent him to the congress: abandoning therefore every thing for this object, he pursued the Prussian general, defeated his centre at Champaubert, and his van at Montmirail: but Blucher redeemed the blunder he had committed by the firmness and perseverance with which he carried off the remnant of his army before Napoleon, till the advance of the Austrians on the side of the Seine recalled his pursuer. Then took place the combat of Montereau, in which the Austrians were defeated and driven back on Bar-sur-aube; after which, negotiations were tried for the last time, and the fate of Europe was at stake: but the hand of Providence was again visible; for his late successes had so dazzled the emperor, that he would accede only to the terms offered at Frankfort, with the kingdom of Italy guaranteed to its present viceroy, and compensation to his own brothers: the congress of Chatillon therefore merged in a closer union of the confederates; and a quadruple alliance was signed at Chaumont, on the first of March, between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for twenty years; each power engaging to furnish 150,000 men for continuing the war, and not to enter into any separate negotiations: England also promised a subsidy of £5,000,000 for the service of the current year; and a defensive convention was arranged, to remain in force after the existing war: thus provision was made for the future as well as for the present. The plenipotentiaries at this congress, were prince Metternich, Von Hardenburg, Von Nesselrode, and lord Castlereagh,

the first British secretary of state for foreign affairs that had appeared in person on the continent. In the mean time, Blücher in his retreat united his forces with those of the northern army, and fought the glorious battle of Laon; after which, he pressed forward, and rejoined the grand army on the eighteenth: from this time the capital of France was the grand aim of all; and Napoleon himself, guided by his evil genius, facilitated their march. Resolving, after a battle at Arcis-sur-aube on the twentieth, to make one desperate effort to retrieve his fortunes, he pushed between the two armies of the allies, that he might interrupt their communications, and fall on the rear of the Austrians: his intentions however were discovered by an intercepted letter, and a council was immediately called at the head quarters of the sovereigns. It is certain that great alarm was exhibited at this meeting; and it has been stated, that the first proposal made, was to retreat: on which lord Castlereagh observed, 'And what have we to fear if we advance?' This led to a discussion, the result of which was the immediate march of the armies on the capital. Marmont and Mortier, being intercepted with their divisions, on their route to join the emperor, were driven back on Paris, whose citizens heard the storm of war approaching, on the twenty-seventh of March.

But these were not the only disasters that thickened round Napoleon; for the adverse tide was now flowing in on him from the south, where Bourdeaux had already hoisted the white flag of the Bourbons; but to arrive at that event we must revert to the glorious career of Wellington's army: previously, however, let us take the only opportunity that may offer itself of glancing at the operations of Sir Thomas Graham's forces in the Netherlands. A Prussian corps, under Bulow, had been sent to the same quarter; and it was the particular wish of the two commanders to gain possession of Antwerp: to forward that object, the well-fortified village of Merxem was attacked, and gallantly carried; but when Graham proposed to take a nearer position, the Prussian general was ordered by his sovereign to join the grand army; and Antwerp was thus rescued from danger. After a month's inaction, of which his officers began to be very weary, Sir Thomas, fated to diminish by sieges that glory which he had so nobly won in the field, resolved to employ a large portion of his troops against the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom; a scheme, from which no advantage could have arisen, even if it had been successful. To major-general Cooke was committed the chief direction of this

enterprise: the right column, under major-general Skerret and brigadier Gore, advanced to the entrance of the harbor, which was fordable at low water; boldly moved along the rampart; and even forced a passage into the body of the place: but a dangerous wound, received by one leader, and the lamented death of the other, threw the division into such disorder, that, after great loss, it was obliged to retreat: the central column, under colonel Morrice, being exposed for some time to a severe fire, gave way; but it returned to the attack with renewed spirit, and marched round to join the left, which, under the immediate conduct of general Cooke himself, had reached the rampart, and occupied the neighboring houses. Desirous of ascertaining the progress or fate of the other columns, he sent a detachment of the guards toward the Antwerp gate; but these got so entangled, that they could neither proceed nor return; and all, who escaped destruction, were glad to surrender: farther loss was sustained during the night; and at daybreak, a Scotch regiment, harassed by a cross fire, laid down their arms to save their lives. A slight advantage was gained over a party of the enemy, who defended one of the bastions; but this could not secure the object aimed at: all the troops, therefore, that were able to retreat, were sent back by their commander, who surrendered himself, with the rest, a prisoner of war. About 300 men lost their lives in this unfortunate and unnecessary enterprise.

As soon as the weather became favorable, lord Wellington broke up his cantonments; being resolved to promote the object of the grand alliance, by penetrating as far as possible into the interior of France. Having first cleared the ground on his right flank, by driving the enemy to the eastward, and pushed forward his centre with a corresponding movement, he prepared with his left wing, under Sir John Hope, to invest Bayonne. The greatest difficulty which the army now had to surmount, was the passage of several rivers, behind which their antagonists successively ensconced themselves: the principal of these was the rapid Adour; which, with a strong force on its opposite bank, presented a very formidable obstacle. The army now received supplies from the little harbor of St. Jean de Luz, which was crowded with English shipping; and admiral Penrose with a fleet greatly aided operations: with the assistance of his hardy seamen and some able military artificers, major Todd threw a bridge of boats across the stream, at a spot where it was 270 yards in breadth; but even before this

was finished, Sir John Hope, taking advantage of the enemy's confidence, directed the first division to attempt a passage near the mouth of the Adour, by means of pontoons and boats of the country: about 600 of the guards, and some rocket-companies, succeeded in their enterprise; for the French piquets took to flight; and before they recovered from surprise, the party had established themselves on the opposite bank: towards evening, 1500 men were sent against this small force, being told that they were marching against the Spaniards: but major-general Stopford made such an admirable disposition of his troops; and the rockets, which were at this time new to the French, created such terror, that the assailants precipitately retreated; and next day, the remainder of the division, being ferried over the river, prevented the French from interrupting the formation of the bridge. The result was the complete investment of Bayonne; and Soult, not deeming it necessary to remain, since the place was amply garrisoned, concentrated his forces on the right bank of the Gave de Pau, in a mountainous region, from St. Boes to Orthes. He had been reinforced by Clausel; and his position was very strong, though not precluding the probability of his expulsion: accordingly, during the night of the twenty-sixth of February, the fourth, sixth, seventh, and light divisions passed the Pau; and early next morning, lord Wellington, having reconnoitred his adversary's line, made dispositions for an attack on the centre and flanks. It was commenced by the left wing, under Beresford, against the right of the French at St. Boes; and when that village was taken, the marshal next proceeded to drive the enemy from two commanding heights in the rear: but the only approach to this position was over a narrow ridge of land, between two deep ravines, exposed in its whole length to the range of the enemy's guns: the passage indeed appeared insuperable; but the fourth division bravely attempted it, amidst a dreadful diagonal fire of artillery, to which their front and centre were equally exposed: inured as these men had been to victory, they could not imagine themselves defeated; so they still pressed on over a frightful train of slaughtered comrades: but a Portuguese brigade, after standing the destructive fire some time, gave way, and fled; the French pressed hard on the rear of these fugitives; and nothing but the support of fresh troops from the light division could have prevented them from spreading confusion through one wing of the allied army. The battle now assumed a menacing aspect; for the fourth division was bending beneath the

fiery storm which assailed them, when it was again reserved for Sir Thomas Picton, who commanded in the centre, to change the fortune of the day. 'At this moment,' says his biographer, 'when the issue of the contest was yet doubtful, he received orders from lord Wellington to advance against that part of the enemy's position between the right of his centre, where it rested on the left of his right wing. The attack was made with unparalleled energy and resolution; and the whole eleven regiments of the third division, being desperately engaged, drove the enemy from every height which they attempted to defend. This unexpected movement at once changed the front of battle: the French columns, opposing the advance of Beresford's corps, alarmed for their flank and rear, now in their turn gave way, while their artillery was partially withdrawn: then the fourth division rushed over the ground on which so many had fallen; and the whole, deploying quickly into line, charged the heights, and drove the enemy before them with immense slaughter: the British artillery was now brought to some high ground near the right of the third division, from which they poured a destructive fire along the intire line of the French centre. This may be said to have concluded the battle; for Soult, seeing his centre totally discomfited, became apprehensive for his wings; and, after another futile attempt to retrieve the day, abandoned the field.'¹

His retreat soon became a complete rout; for Sir R. Hill, having forced a passage of the river above the town of Orthes, was moving rapidly on the rear of his left, to cut off his communication with Sault de Navailles; the only road, except that of Dax, which was practicable for artillery. This splendid success, almost as decisive as that of Vittoria, was followed by the desertion of large bodies of conscripts, who had been reluctantly forced into Soult's army; especially those who belonged to the southern provinces, whose inhabitants were more peculiarly attached to the royal family. In the mean time, Soult had fallen back on St. Sever, destroying all the bridges in his rear; but he was closely followed by the allies, who entered that town on the first of March: Sir Rowland Hill was then sent to dislodge a strong detachment from Aire; which service he gallantly performed, and captured a large quantity of stores.

The French marshal now committed the error of supposing that lord Wellington would not advance toward Bourdeaux, and

¹ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 280.

leave Bayonne un-reduced in his rear; but the British commander was well informed of the disaffection to Napoleon which existed in the former city; and, as the duc d'Angoulême, who had lately arrived at St. Jean de Luz, had received a deputation of the inhabitants, professing sentiments of ardent loyalty, which they were only prevented from publicly displaying by the presence of a garrison, his lordship sent marshal Beresford, with three divisions, to drive out the troops, and secure to the duke an uninterrupted entry. This measure succeeded: the French garrison evacuated the place without resistance; and the presumptive heir to the French throne entered amidst the enthusiastic cheers of his countrymen.

Soult was now falling back on Toulouse, where the inhabitants would willingly have closed their gates against him, but were obliged to wait patiently the termination of events. While he hoped to form a junction with Suchet, who had brought 12,000 men from Spain with the same intent, he imagined that lord Wellington would not dare to draw off his troops from Bourdeaux; but he was again mistaken: no doubt was entertained respecting the loyalty of that city; and his lordship recalled the whole, except one division under lord Dalhousie, which was left to check any sudden movement from without. On the eighteenth of March the allied army recommenced its movement on each side of the Adour; and next day, the Portuguese brigade of the third division drove a large body of the enemy from a position of great strength at the town of Vic Bigorre: next morning, Sir Rowland Hill came up with the second division, and they marched together towards Tarbes, which formed the left point of a strong position taken up by the enemy, whose right extended in the direction of Rabastens. It was thought he would make a resolute stand on the heights of Tarbes; but he was driven from them almost by the demonstration of an attack; when the British, marching quickly through the town, were surprised to find the whole French force drawn up on some heights behind it: here then they bivouacked for the night, to allow all their forces time to come up, and in full expectation of a general engagement next morning: but, as usual, Soult took advantage of the night, and retired toward the intrenchments which had been diligently prepared in the vicinity of Toulouse.

In the mean time the troops of the allied sovereigns were gathering round Paris. On the twenty-ninth of March, Marmont and Mortier, who had been driven back on that city, occupied Montmartre and the opposite heights with 150 pieces of cannon; and at six o'clock, on the thirtieth, were attacked

by the confederated troops of Austria and Russia. The resistance made to these assailants did honor to the French soldiers, especially to the young pupils of the Polytechnic school, many of whom perished in this their first essay of arms: the allies, after five hours of fighting, were disconcerted; and Barclay de Tolly gave his troops a respite till he should be supported by Blucher's army, which had not yet been engaged: when that general came up, he took St. Denis, and made instant arrangements for the attack of Montmartre; but at this moment, Joseph Buonaparte, to whom the defence of the capital had been entrusted, authorised the two marshals to enter into a capitulation, and fled to join the empress and her son at Blois: on the morning of the thirty-first the troops of Marmont and Mortier marched out of Paris with all their military appurtenances, and the allied armies entered the capital of France. The emperor of Russia then issued a declaration respecting the intentions of himself and the other sovereigns; that they would treat no more with Napoleon, or his family; that they respected the integrity of France, as it existed under its legitimate kings; and that they would recognise and guaranty the constitution which France should adopt. On the first of April the senate assembled: Talleyrand was appointed president; and its first act was to nominate a provisional government of five persons, the president himself being at their head. A decree was then passed, declaring, that 'Napoleon had forfeited the throne; that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family; and that the French people and army were absolved from their oath of allegiance.'

The fallen emperor had, in the mean time, retired with 50,000 men to Fontainebleau; where, on his arrival, he received intelligence of Marmont's capitulation, and the decree of the senate: he at first determined to march on Paris with his remaining forces; but being rendered sensible of the hopelessness of that measure, he saw the extent of his calamity, and consented to abdicate in favor of his son: accordingly, he sent Ney and Macdonald, with the duke of Vicenza, as plenipotentiaries for that purpose: a conference ensued, at which Talleyrand was present; but it was finally determined to restore the Bourbon dynasty. Ney and Macdonald then returned to Fontainebleau, where they arrived at night: Ney was the first to enter Napoleon's apartment; and to the question, whether he had succeeded, replied,—'In part, sire; but not with regard to the regency; it was too late for that: revolutions never give way: this has taken its course, and the senate will recognise the Bourbons.'

The marshal then proceeded to state, that the personal safety of the emperor and his family had been guaranteed ; that he would be permitted to retire to the isle of Elba, which was to be possessed by him in full sovereignty ; and that an annual stipend of 2,000,000 francs would be allowed for his expenditure. Still Napoleon hesitated ; and despatched both Ney and Macdonald again to Paris, to defend his interests and those of his family : but no other terms could be procured : Ney then sent in his adhesion to the provisional government, and Macdonald returned alone to his fallen master : he, according to de Bourrienne, ' was one of those generous spirits, who may be most confidently relied on by those who have wronged them.' He now presented the treaty to Napoleon, who, having read it without remark, signed, and returned it to the marshal :² they then embraced each other, with tears in their eyes ; and Macdonald, having received from the emperor, as a parting memorial, the Turkish sabre which he wore at the battle of Mount Thabor, returned with the treaty to the capital : this was published on the eleventh of April, the same day on which the count d'Artois made his entry into Paris, to act as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, until Louis XVIII. should arrive from England, and accept a constitution prepared by the provisional government : in the mean time, the count concluded a convention with the allies, respecting the cessation of hostilities, and the evacuation of fortresses without the ancient territory of France.

While these transactions were going on at Paris, lord Wellington and Soult, whom we left on opposite sides of the Garonne, were engaged in a useless expenditure of blood and valor : the French marshal seeming determined to make a final stand before Toulouse, his antagonist resolved to attempt a passage of the river below the city at Grenade : a ponton bridge was accordingly thrown over it ; and the third, with the fourth, sixth, and light divisions, were ordered to cross : the

² This document comprised :—1. A repetition of the renunciation, on the part of himself and heirs for ever, of all dominion and sovereignty over France, Italy, and all other countries. 2. A pension of 2,000,000 francs from the revenues of France. 3. Permission to maintain a body guard of 400 men. 4. For his wife and her descendants the sovereignty of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla ; she, as well as himself, retaining the imperial title. 5. In addition, an income was granted to the Buonaparte family, and to prince Eugene. Buonaparte was immediately escorted to Elba, and arrived there May 4th.

passage, however, was so tedious, especially for cavalry, that only a part of the army could effect it during the day; and in the night the wind and rain caused so sudden a swell in the river, that the pontoons were removed to save them from destruction. The position of the army was then rather precarious; for a part under lord Wellington was on one side of the river, while a detachment under Sir Thomas Picton occupied the other; and if Soult had taken advantage of this separation, he might have engaged about 17,000 men with all his forces: but by the eighth, the whole was united, and in safety.

On the tenth of April, day had scarcely broken when the columns of the allied army were moving to their different points of attack: the plan arranged, was for Beresford, who occupied the right bank of the Ers with the fourth and sixth divisions, to cross that river by the bridge of Croix d'Orode, gain possession of Mont Blanc, and march up the stream to turn the enemy's right: in the mean time, the Spanish corps under Freyre, supported by the British cavalry, was to attack the front; while Sir Stapleton Cotton, with his cavalry, followed the marshal's movements: the third and light divisions, under Picton and baron Alten, with the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy on the lower part of the canal, and draw their attention to that quarter; Sir Rowland Hill doing the same on the suburb, to the left of the Garonne.³

The battle commenced on the left and centre of the allied position, in front of the heights occupied by the enemy. Beresford, with the fourth and sixth divisions, moving up the left bank of the Ers, carried the village of Mont Blanc, and then advanced steadily over the ground at the foot of the heights, exposed to a tremendous fire of artillery; while the Spaniards marched against the redoubts from which it proceeded: but in this they failed, though they advanced with great courage, till the fire became too appalling to be withstood; when they retreated hastily down the hill, pursued by the enemy. This was a critical moment; for if they had been driven across the Ers, the forces under Beresford would have been cut off: but lord Wellington, prepared for all emergencies, instantly ordered up the light division to arrest the flight of the Spaniards, and to check their pursuers: Beresford, in the mean time, continued his advance; and having led his columns up the points of attack, brought them rapidly into line. Then came on the deadly struggle: the ground offered great protection to the enemy's

³ Lord Wellington's Despatch.

sharp-shooters ; while the direction of their artillery was so precise, that every shot mowed down files of the advancing troops ; but no fire could appal those veterans : without flinching for an instant, they pressed on, gained the summit, and gallantly carried a formidable redoubt on their right flank ; but the French carried off their guns to a fortified line farther in the rear. The British divisions, having left their artillery in battery, now sent to hasten it up ; when a singular and apparently unaccountable pause is said to have ensued : the firing had almost ceased on the left, and it was even suspected that the allies were defeated in that quarter ; but Picton, who had been anxiously watching the progress of the contest, rode up at speed, and the third division was instantly on the alert : he had seen the retreat of the Spaniards ; and concluding that the left wing would have a frightful struggle to undergo, he determined to make a diversion in its favor ; which, according to his biographer, ‘has been since canvassed with some degree of severity by military men.’⁴

The right brigade, under major-general Brisbane, was immediately ordered to quit a plantation in which they had been concealed, and to force a passage over the canal, by a bridge, near its junction with the Garonne, which was most formidably fortified in front and flank. Picton personally directed this movement ; and the artillery attached to Hill’s corps, perceiving his intention, opened a heavy fire across the river ; but unfortunately they struck down some houses that covered the light troops of the division, and exposed them to the enemy’s musketry. The works now attacked had been fortified by all the resources of art ; and when the counterscarp was gained, such a blaze of musketry and artillery was opened, while the ditch prohibited all farther advance, that a retreat became unavoidable ; and many gallant officers and men were left behind. In the mean time, the battle burst forth with renewed fury on the left, after the light division had succeeded in arresting the Spaniards in their flight, and bringing them up again to the conflict : then Beresford, being joined by the artillery, boldly continued his advance along the ridge.

As a considerable space intervened between his two divisions, Soult, in imitation of Napoleon’s tactics, endeavored to crush the sixth, before the fourth could arrive to support it ; but its brave commander, Sir Henry Clinton, not waiting to be attacked, ordered his men to charge the assembling troops :

⁴ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 308.

they did so, with a fury that was not to be withstood; yet the French fought resolutely: they even checked for a while the advance of their assailants, though they could not oblige them to desist: it was a contest of invincible courage against numbers; and numbers were unable to prevail. The enemy at length fled, after suffering a dreadful carnage, and the fate of the day was decided; though another grand effort was made by fresh troops, sent across the canal, to recover the lost ground; but the sixth division again conquered, and the heights were cleared by a combined charge of British and Spaniards: the enemy then retired over the canal, by its fortified bridges; and about four o'clock the battle ceased. Next day, the allied army was again under arms; when lord Wellington sent a flag of truce, calling on the French army to surrender as prisoners of war, to save the city from destruction; but Soult's reply was, 'that he would rather bury himself and his soldiers under its ruins:' knowing however that if he delayed much longer he would be unable to escape, he evacuated the city during the night of the twelfth, and took the road to Ville Franque. On the same evening, lord Wellington received official intelligence of the surrender of Paris: colonel Simon also arrived, charged by the provisional government to notify that occurrence to Soult, who is said to have received the information without any appearance of satisfaction; even refusing to acknowledge the authority by which the notification was sent. An armistice, however, was agreed on: the French marshal, like his brethren, soon afterwards hoisted the white cockade, and declared, in an order of the day, the adhesion of his army to 'the provisional government for the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of St. Louis and Henri Quatre.' Nor was it long before he and his companions had a fresh opportunity of exhibiting their conversion to the right cause; for the duc d'Angoulême visited the army amidst 'universal acclamations of joy, enthusiasm, and homage.' His reception by the troops was described as 'a spectacle at once martial and touching: tears flowed on all sides; every heart flew to meet a prince worthy to be the descendant of Henri the brave and good: in seeing him, they recognised the blood of their legitimate sovereign; and, marching before him, under the lilies of peace, they looked as on a day of victory. The duke among them appeared like a father in the midst of his children.' In the mean time, loyalty was not to go without its reward: the marshal was created chevalier of the order of St. Louis, and appointed to the command of the thirteenth military division.

Previous to the unnecessary effusion of blood at Toulouse, a similar occurrence had taken place at Bayonne, which was blockaded by Sir John Hope: the two messengers, in their way from Paris, arriving at Bourdeaux, sent information of the peace to that officer; but he did not communicate the intelligence to general Thouvenot, who commanded the garrison; scarcely imagining himself justified in doing so, till he should receive the intelligence direct from lord Wellington. In consequence of this delay, the enemy made a furious sortie during the night of the fourteenth; when nearly 2000 men of both sides fell within the trenches, and Sir John Hope was taken prisoner: this, however, was the last conflict in the sanguinary struggle, which had drawn the British leopards on the 'sacred territory of France.' The allied troops now went into cantonments, previous to their separation: but it was a hard lot for many of our gallant regiments, who had fought so nobly through the peninsular campaign, to be ordered far away from their beloved country and their anxious friends, for the purpose of taking part in a transatlantic war, unwisely provoked, and grievous in its consequences. Some short time before these events took place, Buonaparte, making a merit of necessity, had set free the beloved Ferdinand, and sent back in him a greater pest to Spain, even than his own iniquitous invasion. The council of state had issued a declaration, which was confirmed by the Cortes, objecting to his resumption of the regal dignity, without binding himself, by an oath, to observe the new constitution; while it prohibited the return of those Spaniards in his train, who had accepted offices and honors from the Buonaparte dynasty: trusting, however, to his authority and influence, he disregarded these attempts to control him; and resolved to follow his own inclinations, or the advice of his favorites: so he secretly entered his dominions by a different route from that which the regency had recommended; proceeding first to Saragossa, and thence to Valencia: in his journey toward this latter place, an incident occurred, highly characteristic of the state of parties; and which is thus described by the elegant pen of Mr. Southey:—'On the way he was met by his uncle, cardinal Bourbon, whom, as president of the regency, the Cortes had sent for that purpose, but with a strict injunction, that he was not to kiss the king's hand; because they deemed any such mark of homage inconsistent with their dignity. Ferdinand had been apprised of this; and, as a first and easy trial of his strength, when the cardinal accosted him, he presented his hand, and commanded

him to kiss it: the old prelate, who had weakly promised to obey the order of the Cortes, which in his heart he disapproved, obeyed the king with better will than grace, after he had shown a wish to avoid the ceremony; but Ferdinand, having thus humbled him, turned his back on him in displeasure, and presently deprived him of his archbishopric.⁵

Acknowledged as 'absolute king' by an army of 40,000 men, under general Elio, a bigoted, weak, and wicked adviser, he now issued two decrees; in which he intimated his intention of sacrificing the interests of those who had so long struggled in his cause, to the benefit of a party, now beginning to acquire great influence. This principally consisted of friends of the ancient system, slaves of superstition and deep-rooted prejudice, who had temporised during the residence of the royal family at Bayonne, and opposed the constitution which was adjusted at Cadiz. Influenced by such counsellors, the king annulled all the decrees of the Cortes, and declared their supporters guilty of high treason: on his arrival at Madrid, he arrested many of the members of that body, with two of the regency, as well as the editors of several periodical journals, without specifying any acts of delinquency: many other arbitrary arrests, also, and imprisonments took place; and Ferdinand seemed determined to bring all things back to their old footing. Having restored the convents, he re-established the

⁵ Vol. iii. p. 902. This cardinal had been elected, together with the regency of which he formed a part, in the beginning of last year: the late regents had become odious to the Cortes; and early at a meeting in February, a motion was made to dismiss them: the house immediately declared itself a permanent assembly, till the appointment of a new regency, which took place that same evening: the author happened, accidentally, to be present at the whole sitting; and, after listening with great admiration to the eloquence of different speakers, especially of the patriotic Arguelles, saw this new regency installed. To show the kind of respect attached, at this time, to the cardinal archbishop, whom his nephew, Ferdinand, treated so cavalierly, he mentions the following incident:—On the evening of the day after the above ceremony, he was taking an evening walk, with a friend, in the Plaza de la Constitucion, at Cadiz, which was at that time crowded with persons of both sexes: on a sudden, a slight bustle was heard at one corner; and, in a few seconds afterwards, the whole multitude fell down on their knees, leaving the author and his friend standing, with a perfect facility for observing the portly cardinal, as he walked across the square before a long train of attendants. *Sic transit gloria!*

inquisition, under certain modifications; and, while he ordained the restitution of estates belonging to the monastic orders, without any compensation for purchase or subsequent improvement, he concurred with the late assembly in withholding all confiscated lands or goods from supposed traitors. This conduct caused discontent in some quarters, and insurrections in others; but Ferdinand went on with his severe measures, and concluded the year by making preparations against the colonies, among which was a compulsory loan on the merchants of Cadiz; passing sentence on state criminals; and rewarding the loyalists. One solitary good action which he did, was the abolition of torture.

Almost contemporaneously with Ferdinand, Pius VII. returned to Rome; a mild and amiable man, who endeavored to tranquillise his states, by restoring the authority of the church, renewing the festivals, re-establishing the Jesuits, and prohibiting the meetings of free-masons, or of any other secret society. Italy also saw, but with no great satisfaction, the restoration of Victor Emanuel to his capital of Turin: gloomy, bigoted, and austere, he soon yielded himself to the intolerant spirit of the priesthood, and commenced a crusade against all liberal institutions. Connected with this sovereign is a transaction, which, though it reflects no lustre on the British annals, must be inserted, in order to complete our account of those efforts for the destruction of Napoleon's power, in which this country took the lead. As soon as the French emperor's disasters opened a wider field for its exertion, the British navy was again called into requisition; and lord William Bentinck, embarking the British forces which had been long pent up in Sicily, set sail for the coast of Tuscany; from whence, after being joined by some native Sicilian and Calabrian troops, he proceeded to Genoa. A descent having been made at a short distance from the city, the ships and gun-boats moved along the coast, in concert with the army; and, while the soldiers seized the advanced posts, the approach of a body of seamen and marines so intimidated the enemy, that they abandoned the batteries, and the whole sea-line without the walls: the forts which guarded the left were quickly taken by the auxiliaries; while the British troops attacked the right with success; and, being thus enabled to reach the most assailable part of the works, prepared for a bombardment of the superb city. To avoid such a calamity, the inhabitants sent deputies to the English general, requesting a suspension of arms for a few days, during which, a confirmation of the rumors of peace

might be expected ; but lord William evaded the request by replying, that it was incumbent on the French commander to abandon a city which he could not defend, while its besiegers were at liberty to push an advantage which fortune had placed within their reach : the enemy then expressed an inclination to treat ; and it was agreed that Genoa should be surrendered to the joint authority of the kings of Great Britain and Sicily, but that every article belonging to the French marine should be delivered up to the British. Besides a large quantity of stores, two ships of the line and four smaller vessels were found in the harbor. When possession was taken of the city, lord William, in the name of England, declared ‘the Genoese nation restored to that ancient government, under which it enjoyed liberty, prosperity, and independence ;’ and the old constitution was re-established ; but not long to remain.

About the same time also, those ties which bound the ancient possessions of Venice, in the Adriatic, to Napoleon, were loosened or broken : the strongest of the Ionian islands, Corfu, with its impregnable capital, long held out against all solicitations ; but in June, its high-minded and brave governor, general Denzelot, hoisted the white flag, and surrendered the citadel to the troops of that power which was destined to become its future protector. On the coast of Epirus lay crouched the tiger of Albania, ready to seize the prey which might be left by his British allies : he made his first spring on Parga ; but was repelled by some troops which general Campbell had humanely sent from Zante, to secure the ill-fated inhabitants from his atrocious attempts : political chicanery however subsequently delivered up what military skill and bravery had preserved. The state of the Neapolitan realms on the opposite shore, was like that of the heaving ocean at the commencement of a storm. Murat, by his base defection from his brother-in-law, had averted for a time the blow that hung over his devoted head : but there was a great ferment even in his own states ; many, who had severely suffered under the restrictive system which he had been obliged to pursue, were muttering revenge ; and the still larger party of Ferdinand’s adherents were anxiously longing for the return of the old monarch, with the ancient abuses and corruptions by which they expected to profit.⁶ On the Dalmatian coast, all

⁶ The author relates this from his own observation in the Neapolitan cities which he visited at that period. In July, he had an opportunity of seeing Murat, with his beautiful consort,

was secured for Austria; which power had also taken advantage of the first opening, to push its legions over the northern Alps, and to fix its heavy yoke once more on the inhabitants of Lombardy.

Just before the grand contest was decided at Paris, the British parliament renewed its deliberations; being re-assembled on the twenty-first of March. The first business of importance in the commons, was a motion by the chancellor of the exchequer, for a grant of £2,000,000, on account of the army extraordinaries, in addition to £3,000,000 before voted. When the rupture of negotiations with Napoleon was announced by the regent, the confederated sovereigns were in possession of the French capital, though the event was not then known in England; but as soon as the intelligence arrived, the enthusiastic joy which pervaded all ranks, both in the metropolis and in the country at large, was unbounded. The invitation of the French senate was readily accepted by the legitimate claimant of the crown, who had for many years resided as a private gentleman in this country: from his retirement at Hartwell-house in the county of Buckingham, Louis repaired to Stanmore, where he was met, on the twentieth of April, by the prince regent, who embraced, and cordially congratulated him on the prosperous change in his fortunes: from Stanmore, a long train of gentlemen on horseback, trumpeters, horse guards, and royal equipages, preceded the state carriage, in which sat the king of France, the duchess d'Angoulême, and the prince regent of England, drawn by eight cream-colored horses; the procession being closed by the magnificent regiments of cavalry which Great Britain still retained in her metropolis: the day was brilliant, and London sent out all its dense crowds to witness this interesting scene. The cavalcade having entered the park by Cumberland-gate, arrived a little before six o'clock in the evening at Grillon's-hotel in Albemarle-street, amid the deafening cheers of the populace, and the waving of handkerchiefs by thousands of

surrounded by one of the most magnificent courts in Europe, on a throne, from which in a few short months he was to be ignominiously hurled. In the beginning of the next month, with two English friends, he attended the first levée of the newly-restored Pius VII. (a scene of strange confusion!) and in a long conversation with that amiable pontiff, heard him allude to many of his sufferings, and received from him the expression of his heart-felt gratitude to the British nation. Those indeed were stirring times!

ladies from the windows. The French monarch then held a court, at which, the Austrian, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese ambassadors, with a crowd of English and French nobility, were present; when the prince regent addressed his majesty in an elegant and animated speech. The king, in a very feeling and expressive answer, acknowledged the uniform kindness with which he had been treated by his royal highness and every member of his illustrious family; declaring, that he should always attribute, under Providence, the restoration of the house of Bourbon, and the re-establishment of a general peace, to the spirit and perseverance of the British cabinet, and the courage and perseverance of the people: his majesty then, assisted by the prince de Condé and the duc de Bourbon, invested the regent with the highest order of France, taking the riband from his own shoulder, and the star from his breast, for that purpose; expressing also his happiness, that his royal highness should be the first person on whom he had the honor of conferring it. On the twenty-third, the royal family left London, amid the hearty cheers of its inhabitants; and their passage through Kent resembled that of a triumphal procession: at Dover, they were again met by the prince regent; and having embarked on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, under convoy of the duke of Clarence in the Jason, they passed the pier-head, with a salute from all the batteries: the regent, who had taken his station at the farthest point of the pier, cheered the vessel as she passed; in which he was joined by a vast concourse of spectators of all classes, who appeared deeply affected at this interesting scene. When the yacht reached the French coast, she was saluted by the duke of Clarence's flag-ship, and all the other vessels of the fleet: on her approaching the harbor, a roar of artillery was continued for two hours, along the whole coast from Calais to Boulogne; and on the twenty-fourth of April, Louis 'le Désiré,' set his foot on his own territory. He was received at Paris with sincere joy by some, with hollow demonstrations of it by others; and having rather granted than accepted a constitutional charter, he ascended the throne of his ancestors: one of his earliest acts was the ratification of a treaty with the allied powers, which was signed on the thirtieth of May; and of which the following were the chief articles.

France preserved its integrity, according to its boundaries in January, 1792; with some additions on the eastern frontier, and in Savoy, as well as the confirmed possession of Avignon. She recognised the independence of the state of the Nether-

lands, with its future aggrandisement; of all the German states, which were to be united by a federal league; of Switzerland; and of the Italian states. She recovered her colonies from England, including even Guadaloupe, (to which Sweden laid claims) with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France, with its dependencies: she engaged not to fortify her places in the East Indies, and to keep no troops beyond those necessary for the police. Malta was to be retained by England. French Guiana was restored by Portugal, according to an adjustment of boundaries. In the harbors evacuated by France, the vessels of war and naval stores were to be divided, so that two-thirds should be assigned to that country. The allies magnanimously renounced all the sums, to which their governments might have claims from France, for contracts, supplies, and loans of money: she engaged to pay the similar demands of private persons; and also promised England to abolish the slave trade within five years. The negociators were Talleyrand, on the part of France; on that of the allies, lord Castlereagh, Rasumovsky, Metternich, and von Hardenburg.

But while the foundation of the subverted system of European policy was laid afresh, it could not escape notice how much was wanting to complete its intire restoration: accordingly, the monarchs, united in peace as in war, resolved to effect this, if possible, at a congress to be held in the imperial city of Germany, before the close of the present year.

The proceedings of the British legislature, after the reduction of Paris, do not require a great length of detail. A bill introduced by Mr. Goulburn, to restrict the enjoyment of colonial offices by absent individuals, met with strong opposition from Mr. Creevey, because, under pretence of enforcing occasional residence, it seemed to encourage the grant of places to undeserving persons, who were not disposed to perform the attendant duties; but it was passed by a large majority in each house.

A bill introduced by the humane Sir Samuel Romilly, for doing away with corruption of blood in cases of traitors and felons, was carried; but with an amendment proposed by Mr. Yorke, purporting that this relaxation of the law should not extend to high treason and murder.

The price of corn being at this time high, a measure, the object of which was to prohibit importation, excited much alarm, especially in the manufacturing and commercial

districts : its promoters were accused of a design to sacrifice the trading to the landed interest, in order to enable country gentlemen to keep up their high rents. On the fifth of May, Sir Henry Parnell moved a resolution, for permitting, at all times, the exportation of grain from any part of the united kingdom : this being carried, a second was proposed for regulating the importation of grain by a schedule ; according to which, when the home price of wheat was sixty-three shillings per quarter, or under, foreign wheat should be liable to a duty of twenty-four shillings ; when the price was eighty-six shillings, it should be imported duty free ; and that at all intermediate prices, the same ratio should be preserved : a third resolution was also moved, for the warehousing of foreign corn, duty free, for re-exportation. A bill, founded on the first of these resolutions, was passed ; but, in consequence of the great number of petitions against any alteration in the corn laws, the farther consideration of measures for regulating importation was postponed to another year.

The conduct of the speaker, who, in addressing the regent at the close of last session, had deviated from parliamentary rules, and overstepped the limit of his duty, excited strong animadversion. In noticing the proceedings of the session, he had insinuated, that the advocates of the catholic claims wished to introduce changes subversive of those laws, by which the throne, the parliament, and the government are made fundamentally protestant. It was declared by lord Morpeth to be contrary to usage, for the speaker to refer to any motion or bill which had not received the assent of the house ; as it might thus become the vehicle of censorious remark, and lead to the irregular exercise of royal influence ; and he moved that a resolution to that effect should be adopted. Mr. Abbott endeavored to vindicate his conduct by several precedents ; but Mr. Whitbread justly denied the strict analogy of the cases cited, and moved a severe vote of censure on the speaker, for the violation of a solemn trust reposed in him : this was supported by Mr. Plunket, but evaded by the house, which readily acquiesced in the opinion of Mr. Bankes, that there was no irregularity in recapitulating the principal objects which had engaged its attention.

The harsh treatment of the Norwegians, whose territory was at this time in a transition state, occasioned animated debates in both houses : the eloquence of earl Grey was exerted in their favor ; and as a blockade of their ports had been ordered, he

moved for an address, requesting the interposition of the regent, to rescue that unhappy people from the alternative of famine or subjugation. The arguments adduced in vindication of the transfer were drawn, from consideration of the war in which Denmark was engaged with Great Britain and Sweden at the time of the treaty; from the cession of the country by the Danish king; from the policy of arranging a better balance of power in northern Europe; and from the well-founded expectation of a constitutional government under its new possessor: the motion was rejected by immense majorities in both houses; but an address proposed in the commons by Mr. Wilberforce, to engage the humanity of the allied powers in the abolition of the nefarious slave-trade, met with general assent; and a similar resolution was, with equal unanimity, adopted by the peers.

In the midst of this session, the agreeable intelligence of the pacific treaties concluded at Paris arrived; and when lord Castlereagh presented himself for the first time after his return from the continent, he was received with loud acclamations from all parts of the house: but there was no limit to the enthusiasm excited by the presence of our great general, now raised to a dukedom, with a splendid, but well-merited provision settled on him by parliament. In addition to a former grant of £100,000, the chancellor of the exchequer moved a farther vote of £300,000, for the purchase of an estate for the duke of Wellington; but at the suggestion of Messrs. Whitbread and Ponsonby, the two leading members of opposition, it was increased to £400,000: the house of commons also conferred on his grace the unprecedented distinction of sending a deputation to offer him its thanks, as well as congratulations on his return to his own country; and as the duke expressed a wish to acknowledge the compliment in person, the first of July was appointed to receive him.

On that day, his grace, dressed in a field-marshal's uniform, profusely decorated with orders, entered the house of commons, and was greeted by all the members rising uncovered, and enthusiastically cheering him. The duke then seated himself for a short time in a chair provided for the occasion, and in a brief, sententious speech, expressed his acknowledgements and gratitude to the commons of England: this was followed by loud applause; when the speaker, taking off his hat, addressed the illustrious visitor in very animated and appropriate terms, commenting on his great and splendid actions: the duke then took his leave, bowing as he retired; while all the members rose, as at his entrance, uncovered, and cheered him.

A motion, made by lord Castlereagh, that the address of his grace, and the speaker's reply, be entered on the journals of the house, was carried by acclamation. Grants and peerages were at the same time deservedly bestowed on the following distinguished officers; Sir Thomas Graham, Sir William Beresford, Sir Rowland Hill, Sir John Hope, and Sir Stapleton Cotton:⁷ but the absence of one name from this bright list created general dissatisfaction in the country. Where was Picton, the leader of the invincible legion, 'by whose sword the British troops were led to the victorious assault of Ciudad Rodrigo; by whose daring hand the British standard was planted on the castle of Badajos; whose battalions, when the usurper of the Spanish throne was driven to his last stand at Vittoria, filled the centre of that formidable line, before which the troops of France fled in dismay; and by whose skill, prudence, and valor, exerted in a critical hour, the enemy was foiled in his desperate attempt to break through the barrier of the Pyrenees?'⁸ The people of England, it was justly said, were more familiar with his name than with some of those who were exalted to honor; but Picton could not deign to ask, and there were none to speak for him. His own spirited remark, when a friend questioned him on the subject of this omission, was characteristic of the man:—'If the coronet were lying on the crown of a breach, I should have as good a chance as any of them.'⁹ As a solace for his disappointment in missing that reward, which, by universal consent, he had nobly earned, he was now called on to receive the thanks of the house of commons, for the seventh time; and these were expressed by the speaker in terms commensurate with his high exploits.¹⁰

An additional source of joy and exultation was at this time opened to the people of England, in a visit paid to the prince regent by the allied sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. Having crossed the channel, under convoy of the fleet commanded by the duke of Clarence, these illustrious personages landed at Dover; where, as well as in the metropolis, they were received with acclamations, far more sincere than those with which they had been greeted at Paris. The appearance of marshal Blucher at the gates of Carlton-house produced such a burst

⁷ Respectively created lords Lynedoch, Beresford, Hill, Hope-toun and Niddry, and Combermere.

⁸ Address of the speaker to Picton in the house of commons.

⁹ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 323.

¹⁰ He had been presented by the officers of his division with a magnificent service of plate, as a testimony of their regard and admiration.

of public enthusiasm, that no efforts could preserve order: the populace rushed into the court-yard, and even thronged the hall; where they witnessed, with great applause, the testimonial of regard offered to the general, on whose shoulder the prince regent fastened a blue riband, to which was hung a miniature portrait of himself, decorated with brilliants: on the following day was held a chapter of the garter, at which the emperor appeared as a knight, and the king of Prussia was admitted a member; the emperor of Austria being installed by proxy. The sovereigns were sumptuously entertained by the city of London; and in a visit to the university of Oxford, they were admitted to honorary degrees, together with many other celebrated personages in their train. These public pageantries however subjected the prince regent to some embarrassment and pain: the queen had announced two drawing-rooms, at which the princess of Wales intimated her intention to be present; but her majesty, in reply, stated to the princess, that her son, the regent, after mentioning the necessity of his own presence at court, desired it to be understood, 'that, for reasons, of which no one but himself could be the judge, he was determined not to meet the princess of Wales on any occasion public or private.' Her royal highness, after a fruitless correspondence on this subject with the queen, addressed her complaints, through the speaker, to the house of commons; and the publication of these wretched quarrels, with the remarks to which they gave rise in the house, subjected the prince to much popular insult, and consequent humiliation in the eyes of his illustrious visitors. Peace was proclaimed, with the usual solemnities, on the twentieth of June, and celebrated by a grand military review, at which were present the three sovereigns of England, Russia, and Prussia, with many of the most distinguished generals in the late war. When the merits of the treaty between Great Britain and France came to be discussed by the peers, a panegyric address was offered for their assent, which received the approbation of the earl of Liverpool: he congratulated their lordships on the conclusion of so desirable a treaty; preferable, he said, to any agreement that would have left the French in a state of weakness and humiliation, to inflame their high spirit: hence they had been favored with some extensions of boundary beyond the line which marked their frontier in the reign of Louis XVI. and had also recovered their principal colonies: on the other hand, Great Britain had procured some valuable additions of territory; and had obtained that security which was the great

object of the late severe and sanguinary contest : it was also a flattering consideration, that this country had not, as in some former wars, abandoned its allies ; but, by negotiating in full concert with them, had conciliated their applause and gratitude. Lord Grenville expressed a wish that the slave-trade had not been prolonged by any express stipulation ; but he trusted that the influence of the approaching congress would be effectually exerted to extinguish that disgraceful traffic : the address was carried without a dissentient voice. When a similar one was proposed in the lower house, Mr. Gooch ventured to remark, that the ultimate success of the war resulted from a close adherence to the principles of Mr. Pitt ; from which opinion Sir John Newport and Mr. Baring begged leave to dissent : the former denied that the war had been conducted on any fixed and unvarying system ; since its grounds and pretences had frequently been changed : the latter even thought that the erroneous policy pursued by the applauded statesman had principally contributed to produce that military monster, which the grand confederation had lately crushed : advertng to the terms of the treaty, he did not complain of a share in the Newfoundland fishery being restored to France ; but he was disposed to think that we had been too liberal in our territorial concessions. Mr. Whitbread, while he reprehended the illiberality of those who affected to see wisdom only in the promoters of the war, and error in its opposers, candidly expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of ministers ; who, after fairly trying the experiment of negociation with the late ruler of France, and finding it impracticable, had resolutely pursued more vigorous measures : he even applauded their zeal for the restoration of the house of Bourbon, as it seemed to afford the best prospect of security to Europe. About this time the increasing animosity between the prince and princess of Wales occasioned great agitation in the public mind : nothing had so much tended to render the regent unpopular, as his treatment of his wife, which from personal dislike had descended to persecution : but this unpopularity was now still farther increased by an opinion which prevailed respecting his harsh conduct toward their daughter, who had for some time resided, with a separate establishment, at Warwick-house : on the fourteenth of July, however, she received her father's command, to take up her abode under the paternal roof, where a retinue was already in waiting to attend her. The young princess, who was of an impassioned and resolute disposition, seeing no other way left to defeat this scheme, secretly ran out

of the house into the street; and, throwing herself into a hackney coach, proceeded to her mother's residence in Connaught-place: her mother however was not at home to receive her; and when the archbishop of Canterbury soon arrived, charged with a father's authority to bring his daughter back, he was refused admission: the duke of York was next despatched on the same errand; and after a long time spent in tears, remonstrances, and stipulations, the lady accompanied her uncle to Carlton-house. This conduct of the young princess was referred by the public to the domestic quarrel of her parents: she took part with her mother in the dispute, and saw her, as it was understood, clandestinely, notwithstanding the restrictions of the privy council: it was also said, that her rejection of the hereditary prince of Orange, whether brought about by her mother's influence, or by the sudden attachment which she formed for her future husband, provoked the displeasure of the regent; since it thwarted the measures of his government. Thus she came to be regarded as the victim of the prince's hatred to her mother; and rumors were spread abroad of her being kept under close restraint, even to the prejudice of her health, which was very delicate. The duke of Sussex, being denied access to her, addressed, on the nineteenth of July, several questions on this subject to ministers, which lord Liverpool declined to answer, except by asserting that the regent had an absolute right, and the best intentions, respecting his daughter; and that in the steps which he had taken, he only consulted her happiness, dignity, and morals. At length, an end seemed to be approaching to this unhappy state of things: the house of commons, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, had increased the income of the princess of Wales to £50,000 per annum; the sum to which she would have been entitled if she had survived the prince: at her own request, however, this was reduced to £35,000; and she soon afterwards expressed a wish of travelling on the continent, in order, as she observed, that her absence might procure more liberty to her beloved child. The permission which she solicited was readily accorded; and on the ninth of August, this ill-fated princess quitted the shores of England.

While some of our national defenders were exalted to high and deserved honors, one, whose zeal and courage in the naval service had obtained great applause, was subjected to severe disgrace. Lord Cochrane, with seven others, had been tried on a charge of conspiracy for creating a fraudulent advance in the price of the funds, by circulating false intelligence respecting

the defeat and death of Buonaparte : the scheme was carried into effect, with temporary success, on the eleventh of February ; and all the defendants having been found guilty, lord Cochrane was sentenced to pay a fine of £500, to be imprisoned twelve months, and to stand once in the pillory ! This latter part of the sentence however was properly remitted by the regent. On the fifth of July, the house of commons expelled his lordship by a majority of one hundred and forty to forty-four ; though he strenuously asserted his ignorance of the whole plot ; while he was placed under great disadvantages, from the peculiar nature of the proceeding, and the conduct of the judge. The citizens of Westminster felt so convinced of his innocence, that they re-elected him, not only without opposition, but with all the marks of triumph : his name however was struck from the list of knights of the Bath, and his banner broken. The national income and expenditure were brought under the consideration of the commons on the thirteenth of June : the whole amount of the joint and separate charges for the year were stated at £67,517,478 for England, and £8,107,094 for Ireland ; making the total expense £75,624,572 ! To meet the charges on the public revenue, the taxes and loans of the year, for England, would produce £67,708,545. The exports of the past year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourishing period. The total amount of the loan for 1814 was £24,000,000 ; being £18,500,000 for England, and of £5,500,000 for Ireland ; and, from the terms on which this loan had been negociated, it might be calculated, that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest on it of £4. 12s. 1d. per cent. At the close of this statement, the usual resolutions were read and passed, after a remark from Mr. Ponsonby, that the public interests required the property-tax to be abolished on the fifth of April ensuing : apprehensions, however, were entertained that this imposition might be renewed ; and the inconclusive answers given by government to inquiries on the subject, excited unpleasant sensations throughout the country. The city of London first came forward to petition parliament against its renewal ; and the example of the metropolis was so generally followed, that the voice of the people, which, when distinctly and perseveringly raised, must always be attended to, finally prevailed.

In Ireland, peace returned with scarcely any of its expected blessings : the popular mind in that country shared neither the exultation of victory, nor the tranquillity by which it is generally followed ; and the catholics, though their blood had

flowed freely in the great contest just decided, saw in its conclusion little else but the rejection of their claims, and the continuance of their degradation. Lord Castlereagh, desirous of settling this vexatious question, had concerted a plan with cardinal Gonsalvi, through which it was possible that emancipation might be procured: in consequence, cardinal Quarantotti, a high functionary of the Roman government, addressed a rescript to the Irish catholics, authorising and recommending the measure: this consisted in allowing a *veto* to the British government in the appointment of bishops; but the catholics, by the persuasion of their priests, rejected it with indignation; when a renewal of the war of meetings, proclamations, and indictments, accompanied by numerous acts of lawless violence, soon ensued: on the eighth of July, therefore, Mr. Peel, chief secretary for Ireland, proposed to revive a clause of the insurrection act, by which two justices of the peace were empowered to summon an extraordinary sessions of seven magistrates in any disturbed county; on whose report, the lord lieutenant might issue a proclamation, confining all persons in such district to their houses, from sun-set to sun-rise, under penalty of transportation for seven years: other provisions also, sanctioning the employment of the military, domiciliary visits of magistrates, &c. were proposed; all of which, though warmly debated, received the sanction of the legislature; and parliament was prorogued on the thirtieth of July.

We must here briefly notice a treaty made between Great Britain and Holland on the thirteenth of August; by which the latter country gave up the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, receiving back Batavia, Surinam, Curacoa, and St. Eustace. A closer union between the two nations was contemplated, by means of a royal marriage; but the failure of that measure has been already alluded to.

The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia made their solemn entry into Vienna, and the congress was formally opened on the first of November. There were present, in person, at this august assembly, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg; the elector of Hesse; the grand duke of Baden; the dukes of Saxe Weimar, Brunswick, Nassau, Coburg, and several other princes. The principal ambassadors and ministers were, from the pope, cardinal Gonsalvi; from Austria, prince Metternich; from Russia, prince Rasumovsky, with counts Stakelburg and Nesselrode; from Great Britain, lord

Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington; from Prussia, prince Hardenburg and von Humboldt; from France, Talleyrand and Dalburg; from Spain, Don Labrador; from Portugal, counts Palmella and Lobo da Silveira; from the Netherlands and Nassau, Spoen and Gagern; from Denmark, Bernstorff; from Sweden, Löwenhielm; from Sardinia, St. Marsan; from Bavaria, baron Wrede and count Rechburg; from Wurtemberg, Winzingerode; from Hanover, counts Münster and Hardenburg; from Saxony, count Schulenburg, &c.

One of the first acts of this congress was to recognise a new regal title annexed to the British crown; that of elector of Hanover not being considered suitable to present circumstances, or to the sixth article of the treaty of Paris respecting the independence of the German states, and their federal union: in that country therefore a general diet assembled on the fifteenth of December, which was opened by the duke of Cambridge, and which agreed to the plan of a new constitution, founded on a representative system. In the same month, a protocol from the congress announced to the astounded Genoese, that their venerable republic, contrary to the conditions on which it was occupied by a British force, would be incorporated with the territories of the king of Sardinia: lord Castlereagh expressed the regret of himself and brother ministers, at not being able to preserve to this city a separate existence, without a risk of weakening the system adopted for Italy, and compromising its safety: to this plea of state necessity the ancient republic was obliged to submit; and the wrongs of Corsica were now fully avenged: the fate of its old rival Venice was similar; and the whole of Lombardy, with its fine capital Milan, being subjected to the leaden yoke of Austria, was doomed to see all its natural sources of prosperity drained by the exactions of an imperious master.

The winter in Great Britain this year was unusually severe; and in February the Thames being completely frozen, a fair was held during several days on the ice: on the twelfth of the same month, the Custom-house of London, with most of the adjoining warehouses, was destroyed by fire; much valuable property in papers, books, bonds, paintings, &c., being destroyed. On the seventh of July, a general thanksgiving was ordered throughout England for the restoration of peace; and on the first of August was celebrated a grand jubilee in London, to commemorate the same event, as well as the battle of the Nile, and the centenary of the accession of the house of

Brunswick : almost every town and village in England held a festival in honor of the peace ; a banquet being given, in booths or temporary rooms, to the poorer classes, attended by the higher orders. In October, a dreadful accident occurred at the brewhouse of Meux and Co., in Banbury-street, St. Giles's ; where a vat, containing 3500 gallons of strong beer, burst, and inundated several streets, carrying away the walls of houses, and drowning eight persons : other vats were set running by the accident, and the company lost altogether between eight and nine thousand barrels of liquor : the hoop of the vat which burst, was the least of twenty-two, and of about 700lbs. weight : the seven largest weighed nearly a ton each. This year the trials took place of several degraded persons engaged in writing, publishing, or selling libels on the Holy Scriptures ; the beginning, or rather the revival of a pestilent scheme, which soon proceeded to greater lengths ; but which has been effectually counteracted by the strenuous efforts of the clergy, assisted by many respectable members of the laity. On the twenty-seventh of December, died the notorious impostor Joanna Southcott, who had long practised on the credulity of multitudes, giving herself out as a prophetess and the destined mother of the true Messiah. Strange to say, a considerable number of the educated classes were numbered among her disciples ; and some of the clergy themselves exhibited so lamentable an ignorance of Scripture, as to become the dupes of this impostor.

The British parliament met again on the eighth of November, and was opened by a speech from the prince regent, of which the leading topics were the congress at Vienna, and the pending negociations at Ghent for the settlement of our differences with America. Adverting to the supplies for the ensuing year, his royal highness regretted the necessity of so large an expenditure ; and recommended due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might be necessary for extending the trade of Great Britain, and securing her commercial advantages. The usual addresses were carried without any division ; though some hostile allusions to the war with America provoked animadversion from lords Grenville and Darnley, who ascribed our losses on lake Champlain and the high seas to the inefficiency of the British admiralty. No act of peculiar importance was passed at this time ; and after a sitting of three weeks, the houses adjourned to the ninth of February.

It now only remains that we take a brief review of the contest which was still going on between Great Britain and the United States ; and which, while the combined armies of

Europe were marching to the proud city of Paris, was an object of secondary interest: it now began to assume a much higher degree of importance. Several attempts at reconciliation were made, but in vain; since each country imputed to its adversary the origin of the war, and the responsibility of continuing it: after all, however, the whole cause and continuance of this unfortunate quarrel rested on a matter of punctilio. The limits of the right of blockade are fixed, by the law of nations, on grounds that admit of no serious dispute; and with regard to the impressment of seamen, America did not deny that Great Britain had a right to claim her own subjects; while the British government pretended to none for impressing any that were really American citizens: the whole dispute then regarded the means of asserting these rights; and if the ministers of both countries had sought for peace in a proper spirit, that blessing might surely have been obtained: such however unfortunately was not the case. On the seventh of January, the president communicated to congress copies of letters which had passed between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Monroe, in which the former proposed to appoint commissioners to treat about terms of peace, either at London or Gottenburg; which proposal was accepted, and Gottenburg appointed as the place of meeting: the negotiations, however, which were removed to Ghent, did not commence till the following August, and then proceeded with little prospect of success, although the restoration of peace in Europe had removed the chief causes of difference. In one country, a strong hankering after Canada stimulated the zeal both of governors and people; in the other, an opportunity of employing its victorious veterans to punish those who had apparently taken advantage of its necessities, excited the passion of revenge: each party however was doomed to experience a signal disappointment.

Early in February, the American general Wilkinson, abandoning his position on the frontier of Lower Canada, moved his head-quarters to Burlington and Plattsburg, after partially destroying block-houses and barracks erected at a great expense; the demolition of which, with a quantity of stores, was completed by a pursuing British detachment: he afterwards attacked a post commanded by major Hancock, but was repulsed with considerable loss. The fort of Oswego, on Lake Ontario, was reduced by Sir James Yeo and general Drummond, early in May; an achievement, which was chiefly serviceable, by retarding the equipment of the enemy's armament on that water. The English commodore long blockaded

Sackett's Harbor, in the vain hope of co-operation from general Prevost; but on the return of Chauncey, his able opponent, with a superior force, he reluctantly retired to Kingston: the Americans then became the assailants; and a formidable force under general Brown crossing the Niagara, compelled the garrison of Fort Erie to surrender prisoners of war: they then attacked the British lines at Chippawa; and after a sharp action, in which the American troops appeared to have improved both in courage and discipline, the British commander, general Riall, whose strength was much inferior, retreated on Fort George: this officer, however, having been joined by general Drummond on the twenty-fifth of July, the enemy was in his turn defeated, and compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Fort Erie. About Midsummer, a numerous fleet arrived in the river St. Lawrence from Bourdeaux, with a numerous body of those soldiers, who, under Wellington, had raised the military reputation of their country to the highest pitch of renown; but it was not till the third of September that Sir George Prevost determined to enter the American territory, advancing cautiously with 12,000 excellent troops against Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, in conjunction with a flotilla under captain Downie. The defences of that place were no better than slight field works, still unfinished; the garrison consisted of about 4000 men, chiefly raw militia; but he was in vain urged to an immediate assault, alleging the necessity of naval co-operation. Captain Downie reached Plattsburg on the eleventh of September, and instantly commenced the attack, in full confidence that the land-works would be assailed at the same time; but his signals were not answered: that brave officer fell early in the action; while the squadron maintained the fight, till it was completely overpowered by the naval force of the enemy, combined with an incessant fire from the works; when the ships were either destroyed, or compelled to strike. The commander-in-chief at length commenced his reluctant and long-delayed attack; but almost immediately withdrew, amid the loud reproaches of his troops, leaving behind him a vast quantity of stores; while his whole loss in killed and wounded did not exceed 200 men. This disaster closed the campaign, if so it could be called, in Lower Canada; and by the exertions of general Drummond, wholly unaided by the commander in chief, the Americans were finally compelled to evacuate Fort Erie, with the whole of the Niagara shore in Upper Canada. Sir James Yeo did not hesitate to prefer a direct accusation against Sir George Prevost, for neglect of duty and miscon-

duct; in consequence of which he was recalled, but did not live to undergo his trial.

Military operations on the coasts of the southern states had hitherto been rather of a harassing and predatory kind, than directed to any important object; but it was now resolved to strike a blow in that quarter which might produce an influence on the fate of the war. A large naval force, under vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board a strong body of troops commanded by major-general Ross, was in the Chesapeake at the beginning of August, waiting for the arrival of rear-admiral Malcolm, with an expedition from Bermuda. On their junction, the admiral was informed by rear-admiral Cockburn, that the American commodore Barney, with the Baltimore flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent: of this circumstance they determined to profit, by ascending the river, with the declared purpose of attacking Barney, while their real object was the city of Washington. On the nineteenth and twentieth of August, the army being landed, general Ross began his march to the American capital; since the enemy's force for its protection had been ascertained to be such as would justify an attempt to take it by a *coup de main*. Arriving, on the twenty-fourth, within five miles of the city, he found the Americans, in number about eight or nine thousand, strongly posted to dispute his advance: an attack was immediately ordered; and was made with so much impetuosity, that the enemy fled, in a short time, totally dispersed; so that the British army reached Washington in the evening of the same day, and the work of destruction, not however the main object of the expedition, soon commenced. The public buildings committed to the flames, were the capitol, including the senate-house and house of representatives; the president's palace; the arsenal, dock-yard, treasury, war-office, ropewalks, and the great bridge across the Potomac: a frigate ready to be launched, and a sloop of war in the dock-yard, were also consumed; but private property was respected, and strict discipline observed among the troops.¹¹ On the follow-

¹¹ Much obloquy has been cast on the British army on account of this conflagration, which has been assimilated to the inroads of the most barbarous and savage tribes. Greatly as it is to be regretted, the chief blame of the action rests with the Americans themselves: it was not intended to attempt a permanent conquest; and as the general was aware that he could not establish himself long in an enemy's capital, his object was to lay it under contribution, and then withdraw quietly to the ships; and in this there was nothing derogatory to his own honor, or contrary to the

ing night a retreat commenced ; and the army having met with no molestation on its return, was re-embarked on the thirtieth. Connected with this enterprise was the destruction of Fort Washington, on the Potomac, below the city ; which was effected on the twenty-seventh by captain Gordon, of the Seahorse frigate, accompanied by other vessels ; and its fall left the town of Alexandria, on the same river, without protection. Captain Gordon then advanced against that city, and placed his ships so as to force compliance with any terms he chose to propose. The conditions agreed on were, that the town should be spared, with the exception of its public works ; and the inhabitants unmolested, on their giving up all the naval and ordnance stores, as well as all the shipping, with their furniture, and merchandise of every description. Twenty-one of the vessels were fitted for sea, and loaded on the twenty-first ; when captain Gordon, having learned that preparations were making to oppose his return, quitted Alexandria, without waiting to destroy the stores which he could not carry away, and brought back his squadron and prizes in safety to the Chesapeake.

The American president now issued a proclamation, in which he spoke of the devastation at Washington as a measure of extreme and barbarous severity ; declaring that the British naval commander on the station had avowed his purpose of destroying and laying waste such towns and districts on the coast as were assailable, under the pretext of retaliation for ravages committed in Upper Canada, though none such had occurred but what had been shown to be unauthorised : he then called on all officers to be alert and vigilant in providing means of defence.

Admiral Cochrane and general Ross next concerted the plan of an attempt against Baltimore, one of the most considerable ports in the United States. On the twelfth of Sep-

laws of war. Such being the intention of general Ross, he halted his troops in a plain near Washington, while a flag of truce was sent in with the terms proposed : but whatever the proposal might have been, it was not heard ; for the party bearing the flag had scarcely entered the street, when they were fired on from some windows, and the horse of the general, who himself accompanied them, was killed. After conduct so unjustifiable, all thoughts of accommodation were instantly cast aside : the troops advanced into the town ; and having first put to the sword all who were found in the house whence the shots were fired, and reduced it to ashes, they proceeded to burn and destroy every thing in any way connected with the government.

tember the troops were landed about eighteen miles from the city, whence they advanced along a peninsula between two rivers; and as the vanguard was engaged with the enemy's riflemen, covered by woods, general Ross received a mortal wound: he instantly sent for colonel Brooke, his second in command, to whom he gave some instructions; and after recommending his wife and children to the protection of his country, calmly expired: nor have many fallen in battle more generally beloved for their private character, or admired in their professional capacity.

The van now pressed on, driving the enemy's light troops before them, till they arrived within five miles of Baltimore; where a corps of 6000 men was descried, posted behind a palisade across the road: these were immediately attacked and dispersed with great loss; when the army halted for the night. Next day the British advanced, and took a position about a mile and a half from the city: the hills surrounding it were occupied by a chain of palisaded redoubts and other works; defended, as it was said, by 15,000 men: an attack was, however, planned by the British commander; when a message arrived from the admiral, acquainting him that the harbor was closed in such a manner with sunken vessels, and defended by batteries, that it was impossible to bring up his ships to act as had been concerted: it was therefore the opinion of both officers, that the chance of success in farther operations was not adequate to the hazard of failure; and after the army, in its retreat, had halted for some time, to give the enemy an opportunity of coming up, which was declined, the troops were re-embarked.

Toward the end of the year a very important but disastrous expedition was sent to Louisiana, where it was expected that its capital, New Orleans, would be taken unprepared: it happened however not only that the secret transpired, but that the greatest man produced by America since the days of Washington, held the command in that district, where he had already distinguished himself in repressing the atrocities of the Creek Indians, and in disconcerting the schemes of the Spaniards in West Florida, who were taking an active part in hostilities against their neighbors. Early in the year, general Jackson,¹² anticipating danger, had urged the neighboring states to make immediate preparations; and having secured Fort Mobile, as

¹² The same who is now, for the second time, president of the United States.

well as taken possession of Pensacola on his own responsibility, he arrived at New Orleans on the first of December. The population of this city was not easily excited to that degree of energy which the exigency of its affairs demanded ; and his principal dependence, to meet a large body of highly disciplined British troops, was on the volunteers of Kentucky and Tennessee, whom he had summoned to his aid ; but his first measure was, to co-operate with commodore Patterson, who commanded a small naval force, in fortifying, as far as their means would allow, all the approaches to the city. New Orleans, probably destined to be at some future period the greatest mart of the world, is situated on the eastern bank of that mighty 'father of rivers,' the Mississippi, about 104 miles from the Gulf of Mexico : though in itself unfortified, it is difficult to conceive a place capable of presenting greater obstacles to an invader ; being built on a neck of land, confined on one side by the river, and on the other by impassable swamps : all the tract of country about the main stream of the Mississippi, to the distance of thirty miles at least from its mouth, is an impenetrable morass ; while the channel itself is so defended by forts, as to avert every danger of invasion from that quarter : but to the east of the city, are the lakes of Pontchartrain and Borgne, connected with each other by a stream called the Iberville, the principal eastern outlet of the Mississippi. At this point, the British, under admiral Sir A. Cochrane and general Keene, determined to make their attempt ; since it was thought possible to effect a landing somewhere on the banks of Lake Borgne ; and by pushing directly on, to gain possession of the city before any effectual means could be taken to secure it. With this view, the troops were removed into lighter vessels ; and being conveyed by such gun-brigs as would float on its waters, began on the thirteenth of December to enter the lake : they had not however proceeded far, before it was seen that the Americans were acquainted with their intentions : five large cutters, carrying six heavy guns each, and built expressly to act on the lake, appeared at a distance ; and these were to be captured before a landing could be thought of : as soon however as the British cruisers made sail, the Americans ran quickly out of sight, leaving their pursuers fast aground : as it was necessary however to take them at all hazards, and as the lightest of our craft would not float where they sailed, a number of launches and ships' barges was got ready for that purpose.

This flotilla, commanded by captain Lockier, a brave and

skilful officer, consisted of fifty open boats, most of them armed with a carronade, and all manned with volunteers from the different ships of war: as they approached the enemy under great disadvantages of wind and tide, they were greeted by a tremendous shower of balls, which sunk some, and disabled others; but the rest, being pulled with great exertion, and occasionally returning the fire from their carronades, succeeded, after an hour's labor, in closing with their opponents: the marines then opened a destructive fire of musketry; while the seamen, sword in hand, sprang up the sides of the vessels, and sabring all that stood in their way, quickly pulled down the American ensign, and hoisted the British flag in its place. One cutter, bearing the commodore's broad pennant, was not so easily mastered; but against this, captain Lockier had directed his own barge, and soon found himself alongside her before any of his friends could come up to his support: undismayed however by these fearful odds, he led his gallant crew instantly on board the American, when a desperate conflict ensued, in which he himself received several severe wounds; but after fighting from the bow to the stern, the enemy were mastered; and other boats coming up, the commodore shared the fate of his fleet.

All opposition in this quarter being overcome, the fleet again weighed anchor; but ship after ship took the ground, until it became necessary to hoist out the boats for the purpose of carrying the men: at this time too, a dreadful change of weather occurred; and heavy rains, such as are known only in tropical climates, fell continually on the troops during the ten hours in which they were confined in such straitened quarters. After rowing thirty miles, each division was landed on a small and swampy spot of earth, called Pine Island, where it was determined to collect the forces together, before their transportation to the main land: on that miserable desert they assembled without tents or huts, or any defence against the inclemency of the weather, and without even fuel to supply their fires: in addition to these miseries, when night closed, and the heavy rain ceased, a severe frost set in, which congealing the wet clothes on their limbs, left scarcely any animal warmth in their bodies; and many of the wretched negroes, of whom we had two regiments, and who were totally unacquainted with frost and cold, fell into a deep sleep, from which they never awoke. On the part of the navy, these hardships were more than doubled; for night and day boats were pulling from and to the fleet; and the twenty-first arrived, before all the

troops were put on shore: as there was little time to inquire into the men's turns, many seamen were kept four or five days continually at the oar. Here then commenced the hardships of this dreadful campaign, which probably have never been surpassed in the annals of warfare: yet not a complaint or a murmur was heard; and among all, from the general down to the lowest private, a confident anticipation of success prevailed: this, as well as the prospect of an ample reward in the rich store-houses of New Orleans, was kept up by American deserters, or spies; who also entertained the men with false accounts of the alarm experienced by the citizens, and the absence of all means of defence.

On the twenty-second, before the troops crossed over to the main land, they were reviewed by general Keene, who formed three battalions of the fourth, eighty-fifth, and ninety-fifth regiments, into an advanced guard, under colonel Thornton; attached to which corps was a party of rocket-men, and two light three-pounders: the rest of the troops were arranged in two brigades; the first, under colonel Brooke; and the second, under colonel Hamilton: to each a certain proportion of rockets and artillery was allotted; while the dragoons attended on the general, until they should provide themselves with horses.

From Pine Island to that spot where prudence dictated a landing, the distance was still about eighty miles: the danger therefore of separating into divisions was great; but it could not be obviated: accordingly, the advanced brigade, of 1600 men, was embarked on the twenty-third; the boats being directed to a small creek, called the Bayo de Catalina, which runs up from Lake Pontchartrain, through an extensive morass about ten miles below New Orleans. During the whole time till night, the rain fell incessantly; and was, as usual, succeeded by a sharp frost, which rendered the limbs of the men completely powerless: in this state, they remained till midnight, when the boats cast anchor, and awnings could be erected: at the entrance of the creek was an enemy's piquet, all of whom were surprised fast asleep; so little did they dream of attack from this quarter: the boats then rowed to the head, and the men disembarked on a wild marsh, covered with rushes and tall reeds, where not a house or any vestige of human industry could be discovered: yet this spot, savage as it was, was favorable to the party, whose motions it concealed; and hopes were entertained, that they would be suffered to remain quiet till joined by the other brigades. These anticipations however soon proved fallacious; the deserters, or

more properly, the deceivers, assured the British commander, that he had only to show himself, and the whole district would submit; for that there were not 5000 men in arms throughout the state, and of those, not more than 1200 regulars; while the whole were expecting an attack on the opposite side of the town: these arguments, added to the uncomfortable nature of his present position, induced the general to push forward; and after an advance of several hours, the troops began to approach a more cultivated region, where some orange groves and a few farm houses were discovered: the inmates of these were secured as quickly and as secretly as possible: one man however contrived to effect his escape; after which, all hope of concealment departed, and the column was directed to widen its files, in order to present as formidable a front as possible. After hastening for about a mile over a narrow plain, bounded on the right by the extended marsh which they had lately quitted, and on the left by the mighty Mississippi, rushing rapidly in a stream about one hundred fathoms deep, and a mile in breadth, the whole detachment turned off into a green field, in which was a large house surrounded by about a score slave huts, and at a little distance farther, another lone habitation, where general Keene fixed his head-quarters: noon had passed, when the word was given to halt; and here the troops were suffered to light fires, and pile their arms: this done, they cooked their provisions, of which they had collected abundance; and with the exception of a few slight alarms from small parties of horse, nothing occurred to disturb their tranquillity: when the shades of evening fell, the fires were made to blaze more brightly; supper was despatched, and the men prepared themselves for rest: but a little before eight o'clock, the attention of some was drawn to a large vessel which seemed to be stealing up the river, till she came opposite to the British station; when her anchor was dropped, and her sails leisurely furled. Various were the opinions entertained of this stranger: she was hailed; but no answer was returned: all idea of sleep however was now laid aside; and several musket shots were fired, of which not the slightest notice was taken; until at length, all her sails being fastened, and her broadside swung toward the camp, a voice was distinctly heard, exclaiming, 'Give them this for the honor of America:' the flashes of her guns instantly followed, and a shower of grape-shot swept down numbers of the British troops: an incessant cannonade was then kept up, which could not be silenced, as our troops had no artillery, and the few rockets that were discharged, deviated so much from

their object, as to afford only amusement for the enemy : under these circumstances, therefore, all were ordered to leave the fires, and shelter themselves under the dykes ; where they lay, each as he could find room, listening in painful silence to the iron hail among the huts, and to the shrieks and groans of those that were wounded.

The night was dark as pitch ; the fires were all extinguished, and not an object was visible, except from the momentary flashes of the guns, when a straggling fire called attention toward the piquets, as if some still more dreadful scene was about to open : nor was it long before suspense was cut short by a tremendous yell, and a semicircular blaze of musketry, which showed that the position was surrounded by a superior force ; and that no alternative remained but to surrender, or to drive back the assailants. The first of these plans was instantly rejected ; for the troops, rushing from their lurking places, and dashing through their bivouac, under heavy discharges from the vessel, lost not a moment in attacking the foe, without the slightest attention to order, or the rules of disciplined warfare : the combat, which was left to individual valor and skill, lasted till three in the morning ; and though the enemy was finally repulsed, no less than 500 of our finest troops and best officers were left on the field : the rest then retired to their former lurking places, to be out of reach of their enemy on the river ; which, when daylight appeared, was discovered to be a fine schooner of eighteen guns, crowded with men. In the cold dykes, however, they were compelled to remain the whole ensuing day, without fire and without food ; for whenever the smallest number began to steal away from shelter, the vessel opened her fire.

In the mean time, the remainder of the troops were disembarking in haste to rejoin their comrades ; and as the schooner's guns were heard at the distance of at least twenty miles over the water, and in the silence of the night, the most strenuous exertions were made by the boats' crews : nor was a moment lost in returning to the island ; so that the whole army was brought into position before dark on the twenty-fourth ; but the advanced brigade was still fettered to the bank, while another large ship now cast anchor about a mile from their annoying enemy : as soon, however, as darkness had set in, a change of position was effected, and the division was stationed in the village of huts : the front of the army being then covered by a strong chain of outposts, they remained quiet during the night ; and next day general Keene was relieved from farther care and

responsibility by the unexpected arrival of Sir Edward Pakenham and general Gibbs ; the former of whom had been despatched from England, to take the chief command, as soon as the death of general Ross was known. The arrival of Pakenham, adored as he was by the army, elicited the utmost enthusiasm ; and he had scarcely reached the camp, before he proceeded to examine, with a soldier's eye, every point of attack or defence. Of the American army nothing could be seen but a corps of 500 mounted riflemen, hovering about the British front, and watching every motion : the city was not in sight ; and no advance could be made, until the vessels on the river were disposed of : as delay was now dangerous, nine field-pieces, two howitzers, and a mortar, were brought down to the bank as soon as it became dark ; a battery was quickly thrown up against the schooner ; and at dawn, on the twenty-sixth, a heavy cannonade was opened on her with red-hot shot : nor was it long before her crew was seen hastening into their boats ; while the smoke first, and then the flames, began to rise from her decks ; and, in about an hour, she blew up : the guns were then turned against the ship ; but not wishing to share the fate of her comrade, she set up every inch of canvass ; and being impelled both by sailing and towing, succeeded in getting out of the range of shot. All apparent obstacles being now removed, the army advanced to a more forward position ; and arrangements were quietly made during the day till sunset : but from that period until near dawn the whole time was spent in wakefulness and alarm ; for the American riflemen harassed the piquets ; fired on the sentinels, as well as the officers who went the rounds ; and, disregarding all the usages of civilised warfare, thought only of diminishing the number of their enemies by picking off every individual whom they could reach. As soon as day began to break, they retired ; and our troops formed in two columns : the right, under general Gibbs, took post near the skirts of the morass, throwing out its skirmishers across the plain ; while the left, under Keene, drew up on the road near the river, and was covered by the rifle corps, which extended itself to meet the skirmishers of the right column : with this division went the artillery ; and at a given signal, the whole moved forward in high spirits, for about four or five miles, without the slightest check. At length they came in view of the American army, very advantageously posted behind a canal, which ran from the morass to within a short distance of the road : along its line were formidable breast-works ; while on the road, and at various other points, were

powerful batteries, aided by a large flotilla of gun-boats on the river, flanking the position. As the left column passed a few houses, built at a turning of the road, and which concealed the enemy from view, it was suddenly checked by a destructive fire from the battery and the shipping: scarcely a bullet passed over, or fell short of its mark; but striking full into the midst of the British ranks, made dreadful havoc: the houses also on the left, which had been purposely filled with combustibles, were now fired by red-hot shot; so that, while whole ranks were mowed down by the artillery, the survivors were scorched by flames, or half suffocated with smoke: the troops, however, were not long suffered to remain in this situation; for, being ordered to quit the path, and form in the fields, the British artillery was brought up against that of the enemy; but being inferior both in number of guns and weight of metal, it was soon obliged to retire with great loss. The infantry, having formed in line, now advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape shot, till they were stopped by the canal, the depth of which could not be ascertained; they were therefore ordered to take shelter in a wet ditch, sufficiently deep to cover the knees; where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves as well as they could behind some high rushes on its brink: in the mean time, the advance of the right column had been stopped by similar impediments; and nothing seemed left but to withdraw the troops from their perilous situation: a party of courageous seamen were employed to remove the dismounted guns, which service they effected under the whole fire of the enemy; and then regiment after regiment stole away, amid discharges similar to those which saluted their approach; retiring to a position in the plain, about two miles from the enemy's works, and in full sight of their army. In this situation they unaccountably remained inactive from the twenty-eighth to the thirtieth of December; though, if an attack was to be renewed, it never could have been supposed that such a commander as general Jackson would neglect to strengthen or complete his lines: indeed workmen were observed busily occupied in this very operation, while numerous reinforcements continually arrived in his camp: neither did he, during this period, leave his antagonists in tranquillity; for by giving an elevation to his guns, he contrived to reach the British lines; and he also began to erect batteries on the opposite or right bank of the river, whence a flanking fire could be thrown across the whole front of his position. His defences could not now be turned, nor could his troops be drawn from their intrenchments: nothing

therefore remained to be done but to erect breaching batteries, and assault his works: this plan therefore was adopted; three days being employed in bringing up heavy cannon, and making such preparations as might have sufficed for a siege.

On the night of the thirty-first, one half of the British army was marched to the front, within three hundred yards of the enemy's position: favored by the darkness, and working in cautious silence, they succeeded in throwing up, before dawn, a work,¹³ on which thirty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted; and then, falling back to a short distance, they lay down behind some reeds, to act as circumstances might require. The next morning was very hazy; and when the mist gave way, the different American regiments were plainly discerned on parade, in their holiday suits, and with every demonstration of gaiety and gala; when the British batteries opened, and suddenly all was consternation and confusion: but their artillery soon rallied, and answered ours with quickness and precision: toward the end of the day our ammunition began to fail, when the fire of the Americans was redoubled; and being aided by a large number of guns landed from the flotilla, as well as by the batteries on the right bank of the Mississippi, the British were finally obliged to desert their works.

The fatigue undergone by officers and men was almost beyond conception: for two nights and days, no one had closed his eyes, except he were cool enough to sleep amid showers of cannon balls; and during the day, scarcely a moment could be allowed even to break the fast: and now, having retreated from an impracticable attempt, the troops were exposed not only to the enemy's fire in front, but to a deadly discharge of eighteen pieces of artillery from the opposite bank of the river, which swept the whole line of encampment: besides, the duty in a piquet became more dangerous than that of a general action, on account of the enemy's sharpshooters; and to approach a fire was certain death, from the aim which it gave to the foe: in such circumstances, it was not surprising that murmurs were raised among the men; but these proceeded rather from irritation at the impossibility of bringing the foe to action, than from any other motive. Nor was their gallant leader less anxious to fight, though desirous of engaging on equal terms, if possible; and to effect this, he devised an admirable plan. Dividing his army, he resolved to

¹³ In throwing up this work, barrels of sugar, to the value of several thousands of pounds, were used instead of earth.

send one part across the Mississippi, who might seize the enemy's battery, and turn it against themselves, while the other made a general assault on their lines: to effect this, however, it was necessary to cut a canal for boats, from the lake, across the intire neck of land, to the river: the fatigue endured by the troops in this undertaking cannot adequately be described: still it was effected; and while the Americans received a reinforcement of 2500 men from Kentucky, general Lambert unexpectedly arrived with two fine regiments, the seventh and forty-third; which, with a body of sailors and marines, increased the British force to about 8000.

On the sixth of January, boats were ordered up for the transport of 1400 troops; and colonel Thornton was appointed to lead Picton's 'fighting rascals' of the eighty-fifth, the marines, and a party of sailors, across the rapid 'father of streams:' the soil however through which the canal ran, was so rotten, that it shelved in; and no more boats than a number capable of carrying 350 men, were able to reach their destination: according to orders, colonel Thornton was to embark and cross the river immediately after dark, push forward, carry the batteries, and point the guns before daylight; then, at the signal of a rocket, to commence firing on the enemy's line, which at the same moment was to be attacked by the main body of the British army, divided into three columns: general Keene, at the head of one, was to make a false attack on the right; general Gibbs, with the other, to force the enemy's left; while general Lambert remained with the seventh and forty-third in reserve, to act as circumstances might require: scaling ladders and fascines had been also prepared, and committed to the forty-fourth regiment, as being numerically strong, and accustomed to American warfare. Thus all things were arranged on the night of the seventh; and next day the fate of New Orleans was to be decided.

While the rest of the army lay down to sleep until they should be roused by their drums and bugles, colonel Thornton, with 1400 chosen troops, advanced to the river side: there however he found his commander's scheme impracticable; the boats had not arrived; and at last, some hours after the appointed time, only a few came up: determining however to do what could be effected, he crossed with a small force of 240 men, though they could not leave the canal till dawn was beginning to appear: it was in vain that they rowed like men in despair; that they effected their disembarkation in safety,

and formed on the beach : day had already broke ; the British army had advanced ; and the signal rocket was sent up, while they were four miles from the batteries, which ought to have been taken soon after midnight. Nor was this the only disappointment which the gallant Pakenham experienced : when the troops stood in battle array, not a ladder or fascine was to be found in the field ; for the forty-fourth had neglected to bring them. The indignation of Sir Edward was extreme : galloping up to colonel Mullens, who, as it appeared, had been panic-struck, he commanded him to return instantly with his regiment for the ladders ; but the opportunity of planting them was gone for ever : our troops were now visible to the foe ; a dreadful fire was opened on them ; and they were mowed down by hundreds, while they stood waiting for orders. All his arrangements being thus frustrated, Pakenham gave the word to advance ; and the other regiments, leaving the forty-fourth behind, rushed to the assault : on the left, a detachment carried a battery in advance of the American works, and attempted to cross the ditch by a single plank into the lines ; but they were repulsed by superior numbers. On the right, where the twenty-first and fourth were almost cut to pieces, the ninety-third rushed on, and took the lead : rushing impetuously on, our troops soon reached the ditch ; but to scale the intrenchment without ladders was impossible : some few men, mounting on each other's shoulders, succeeded in clearing the parapet, to their own destruction ; while those that stood without, were exposed to a sweeping fire, that cut them down by companies : they fell too, without seeing their opponents ; for the Americans, not even raising their heads above the ramparts, swung their firelocks by one arm over the wall, and fired directly down on their assailants ; while the batteries on the farther bank of the river kept up a dreadful flanking cannonade. Poor Pakenham did all that could be done to rally his broken troops : riding toward the forty-fourth, which had returned to the field, though in much confusion, he called out to colonel Mullens to advance ; but that officer was no where to be found : he therefore put himself at their head ; and instantly received a slight wound in his knee, from a bullet which killed his horse : mounting another charger, he again headed the forty-fourth ; when a second ball took effect more fatally, and this gallant hero fell lifeless into the arms of his aide-de-camp. Nearly at the same time, both the generals, Keene and Gibbs, were carried off the field severely wounded ; and the

army, without leaders, ignorant of what was to be done, hesitated, retreated, and finally quitted the field in complete disorder.

On the other side of the river, colonel Thornton's little party had landed, driven in an outpost, and stormed the enemy's works under a dreadful discharge of grape and canister, by which their leader was wounded; but the failure of the main body rendered it necessary to retreat: this movement was effected with great skill, under cover of some houses that were set on fire; and the little corps, entering their boats, reached the opposite bank without molestation.

As soon as the British army was re-united, a flag of truce was despatched with proposals to bury the dead, and two days for that purpose were granted; when, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, one of the most shocking and humiliating sights which an Englishman could view, disclosed itself; for at one spot, within the small compass of a few hundred yards, were gathered together nearly a thousand bodies, all arrayed in British uniforms; not a single American among them. In the camp, gloom and discontent, or indignation and rage prevailed; nor was the loss of friends less afflicting than that of honor; almost every man had to bewail a comrade; for between 2000 and 3000 had fallen: yet, though afflicted, they were not disheartened; nay, they even anticipated with eagerness a renewal of the combat; but general Lambert prudently determined not to risk the safety of his army on works that were impregnable; especially as the chance of success was materially diminished by the recent loss: he prepared therefore for a retreat, while it was yet practicable; but for several days after the battle the British camp was harassed by continual discharges of artillery, both in front and from the banks of the river; nor could the men ever close their eyes without being awakened by the splash of a round shot or shell in the mud near them: besides, no roads lay open except over morasses, and hurdles could not be procured to form them: reeds therefore were substituted; and the army, after incredible sufferings and fatigues, from cold, and hunger, and want of rest, at length arrived at the borders of Lake Borgne: even then they were without tents; and the morass was their only bed: the flotilla was eighty miles distant; only a part of the troops could be passed over at a time; so that if bad weather had come on, a large portion must inevitably have perished by starvation. On reaching the fleet, they found that large reinforcements had arrived; but these, under present circumstances, were all useless:

after remaining wind-bound till the fourth of February, they ran down as far as Cat Island, a spot of sandy soil, near the mouth of the lake, where they remained to the seventh, and then proceeded to attack Fort Mobile; with the reduction of which unimportant place all hostilities in this quarter of America ceased. General Jackson, it is confidently asserted, lost but thirteen men in the late attack. Having re-entered New Orleans with his troops, on the twentieth of January, he was received with boundless acclamations; and a solemn thanksgiving was offered up in the cathedral. An incident then occurred, which seems as if it belonged to the era of the Roman republic: as martial law still existed, the general caused one of the members of the legislature to be arrested, who had furnished the newspapers with some articles of a pernicious tendency: application was made to the district judge for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to be served on the general; and this was granted in opposition to the positive injunctions of Jackson, by whose orders the judge himself was arrested, and sent out of the city: two days afterwards, official intelligence of a treaty of peace was received; and the civil magistrate had no sooner resumed his functions, than general Jackson was summoned to answer for his contempt of court: he accordingly appeared, and vindicated his conduct, through his counsel; but was amerced in the sum of 1000 dollars. This sentence against the hero of New Orleans excited universal indignation, and the amount of the fine was quickly raised by the citizens: Jackson, however, had already discharged it from his own funds; and requested that the subscription might be distributed among the relatives of those who had fallen in the battle.¹⁴ He then resigned his command to general Gaines; and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his farm, until his country, requiring his services, again called him from his rural occupations.

Before the fatal termination of our expedition, the British and American commissioners at Ghent had concluded a treaty of peace, which was signed on the fourth of December; and which, while it restored conquests on both sides, and concluded a settlement of boundaries on the Canadian frontier, to be adjusted afterwards by commissioners, left the ostensible cause of the war, 'the right of search,' untouched: but as America resigned her claim of compensation for captures made under

¹⁴ See Life of President Jackson, in the American Portrait Gallery.

the British orders in council, her resistance to the maritime claims of England was considered to be tacitly abandoned. Both parties bound themselves to do their utmost in abolishing the slave trade. The interval between the actual conclusion of this treaty, and its publication, enabled the British navy to obtain a triumph, which made some slight compensation for our failure at New Orleans. The President, one of the largest of the American frigates, commanded by captain Decatur, accompanied by an armed brig, laden with provisions, sailed from New York during those gales by which the blockading squadron was driven out to sea: after a long chase, the *Endymion*, captain Hope, came up with the former, and a severe action ensued; when the President, having crippled her adversary in the rigging, was enabled to get a-head: but the British frigate *Pomona* coming up, the President surrendered after the exchange of a few broadsides. Some months previous to this, the United States frigate *Essex* had been taken off Valparaiso by the British frigate *Phœbe*, which relieved our traders in that quarter from a formidable enemy: on the other side, the British sloop *Reindeer* had been captured by the American sloop *Wasp*.

One of the immediate advantages which the Americans derived from this war, was a greater consolidation of their union; others more indirect arose, not only from the impulse given by previous prohibitions to their manufacturing industry, but from the necessity that was now felt of a navy, to which the energies of the nation were soon directed. With the return of peace, the flag of the republic was displayed on every sea; her territory rapidly extended itself; and internal improvements made astonishing strides; until at length was seen the phenomenon of a mighty empire, with all its state machinery in motion, unencumbered by a national debt.

With regard to England, the conclusion of peace happily left her free and unembarrassed for the short but fierce conflict that soon took place in Europe; while the war itself proved the fidelity of her colonies in Canada and Nova Scotia. Why indeed should these seek independence; possessing, as they do, a free constitution, suffering no religious restraint, and paying no taxes, while their colonisation and commerce flourish more and more every year? As far as they are concerned, the warnings of history have not been given in vain.

A British expedition, which sailed from Halifax in July, under general Pilkington, had reduced Moose Island, and two others, in the bay of Passamaquoddy. In September, this

advantage was followed up; so that the enemy was compelled to burn a fine frigate, named the John Adams, and to leave the whole district, from that bay to the Penobscot river, in possession of the English. In consequence of the alarm thus created, measures were taken for defensive preparations; and it was proposed to congress, that the present military establishment, amounting to 62,448 men, should be preserved and rendered complete; while an additional permanent force of 40,000 was raised to defend the cities and frontiers. A bill was accordingly introduced, providing, that all the white male inhabitants of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, should be distributed into classes of twenty-five in each; every class furnishing one able-bodied man, to serve during the war; and the property in each division being taken as nearly equal as possible: but any five men liable to service, who should join to furnish one soldier, were to be exempted from the operation of this law.

CHAP. LVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1815.

Arrangements made by the congress of Vienna—Views respecting them, &c.—Napoleon escapes from Elba, and lands in France—His advance to Paris, &c.—Retreat of Louis XVIII. to Ghent—Acts of the congress—Conduct of Buonaparte—Ill-judged and unsuccessful movement of Murat—Sensation created in England by Napoleon's return, at a period of tumult and rioting on account of the corn laws—Acts of the British parliament—Its prorogation in July—Duke of Wellington assumes the command of the armies in the Netherlands—Operations of the allies and of the French to the time when Napoleon crossed the frontier—Battles of Ligny, Quatre-Bras, and Waterloo—Pursuit of the French army by the Prussians, &c.—Advance of the allies into France, to the capitulation of St. Cloud—Napoleon's abdication—Re-instatement of Louis XVIII. on his throne—Works of art in the Louvre reclaimed by the allies—Second treaty of Paris—Projects, &c. of the Holy Alliance—French ministry—Cases of Labedoyère, Ney, and Lavallette—Soult and Murat—Ultimate destiny of Napoleon—Rewards given by the British nation to the heroes of Waterloo.

FROM the close connexion of Great Britain, and her powerful influence, with other states, it becomes necessary to take a more enlarged view of the acts of a congress, which, for the magnitude and variety of interests it undertook to settle, is unexampled in the annals of history. Much remained to be done for the restoration of that political system which had suffered so total a dislocation; and for the adjustment of that balance of power, which had been so intirely overthrown: but matters were facilitated by a general coincidence of opinion which existed among the delegates, regarding the principal points to be discussed; such as the maintenance of the French monarchy in its existing integrity, with the restoration of the Austrian and Prussian empires, according to the terms of a treaty already agreed on: much also was expected from the personal character

and mutual friendship of the monarchs present, as well as from the talents and practical experience of many among their ministers : still there existed serious obstacles to a final settlement ; not the least of which were the arrangements regarding Saxony and Poland, as well as the political and territorial relations of the Germanic states : fears were entertained, and not without cause, that discussion might be interrupted, or negotiations broken off, by the tenacious purposes of selfish policy : but it happened by a singular fatality that an event occurred in the midst of these deliberations, which hastened them to a conclusion by overpowering the voice of individual interest. ‘The man of destiny,’ says professor Heeren, ‘was again to make his appearance, to confirm that which he was anxious to destroy :’ unmindful however at present of this interruption, let us proceed to notice the principal arrangements made for restoring the political system of Europe on the grand basis of legitimate monarchy.

There was scarcely a power in Europe, whose territorial relations were not in a distracted state ; and nothing but the limitation of France to her ancient boundaries could have rendered adjustment possible : yet a complete restoration was not to be effected without much hardship, or even injustice. The number of souls and square miles, as well as the amount of revenue, was generally taken as a criterion, and not wholly without reason ; though it was too often made the sole criterion : the difficulty of establishing a general epoch was avoided by the adoption of a different one for each of the three powers most interested : with France it preceded 1792 ; with Austria it was the year 1805 ; and with Prussia 1806.

Germany, that ancient fulcrum on which the balance of power rested, and whose fate is so intimately connected with the interests of Europe, naturally claims our first attention. What an aspect did this chaos now present, torn and dismembered on all sides ; with its rights of possession every where altered and uncertain ! The necessity of rendering the union of its states as perfect as possible, was evident to every unprejudiced observer, and was also loudly demanded by the public voice ; but as the transformation of all into one state was adverse both to German improvement and European liberty, a federative union of independent powers, according to an idea started at the first treaty of Paris, was now proposed ; and to forward this measure, a German commission was appointed, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Bavaria, and

Wurtemberg: thirteen sessions, however, fruitlessly employed, made it evident that no agreement could be expected, while Bavaria and Wurtemberg presented so many objections: besides, the other German states and free cities entered into a counter-alliance, to oppose any decision of the commission made without their assent. 'All hope,' says Heeren, 'of the execution of this scheme was on the point of vanishing, when a higher destiny, confirming the tardy resolutions of the princes by an appeal to their fears, stepped in to its assistance.' A general deliberation was first held in May and June; and the act of union was signed on the eighth of the latter month; by which the sovereign princes and free cities of Germany entered into a perpetual league, called the Germanic Confederation, with a federative diet, to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. Though the connecting bond was drawn less tightly than was desired by some of the most powerful parties, yet it was hoped that time would render the body more compact, as the necessity of cohesion might be felt: to secure internal tranquillity, and independence with respect to other countries, as well as to maintain political equality among all the members of this union, were the objects explicitly proposed and satisfactorily settled.¹⁴

The territorial arrangements in Germany were closely connected with the restoration of its two greatest monarchies; and as this concerned all Europe, the five leading powers which had concluded the peace of Paris now formed a closer combination, under the presidency of prince Metternich, into which the ministers of Spain, Portugal, and Sweden were admitted in particular cases. The restoration of the Austrian monarchy was effected, chiefly by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy, and of the reconquered Illyrian provinces; but in part by the return of cessions which had been made to Bavaria¹⁵ and

¹⁴ The constitution of the Germanic confederation was perfected in the conferences at Vienna, during the years 1819 and 1820, when a supplementary act of sixty-five articles was added to it.

¹⁵ 1. In Italy, all the countries between the Tesino, Po, and Adriatic sea, with the Valtelin and Chiavenna, and the part of Mantua south of the Po, were elevated into a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom: the family also acquired the three *secundo-genitures*, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, with Piacenza. 2. The Illyrian provinces were elevated into a kingdom. 3. Austria acquired what was formerly Venetian Dalmatia, with Ragusa, and the islands as far as Cattaro. 4. By compacts with Bavaria, the Tyrol, and Salzburg as far as the Salza: also those portions of the Innviertel

Russia: with these acquisitions it contained 28,000,000 of inhabitants, of which about 10,000,000 belonged to the German confederation; the rest being Hungarians, Italians, Illyrians, and Poles; a union of nations and states under a common sovereign, but without a common constitution.

A restoration of the Prussian monarchy, according to its statistical relations previous to 1806, was considered essential by all the powers: yet so grievously had this state been mangled, that to effect it completely was impossible: Anspach and Baireuth could not be restored, on account of their situation, without mutilating Bavaria: Cleves therefore and Berg were substituted. The greatest difficulties, however, were occasioned by the claims of Russia to the duchy of Warsaw; and the curse of Polish partitions still lay heavy on Europe. Prussia, attaching herself to Russia, consented to yield; but for this sacrifice she demanded the whole of Saxony, whose king was to be indemnified in Westphalia. The cause of this monarch was advocated by Austria and England, but more especially by France; and as the feelings of the people were taken but little into consideration, a middle course of policy was pursued: so the country which had suffered most for Germany was now divided: a part also of the duchy of Warsaw was allotted to Prussia, together with Swedish Pomerania, Ahremberg, and other Westphalian provinces, with the greater part of the left bank of the Rhine, as far as to the Saar; by which Germany obtained a bulwark in that quarter. Thus, with about 10,000,000 of inhabitants, and a territory separated into two large portions, Prussia returned into the rank of great powers; though to hold her station there, her spirit must supply what is still wanting in point of territory.¹⁶ A constitutional form of government was promised in place of a despotism; but the organisation of the administration was to precede that of the constitution; the latter being attended with great difficulties in such a divided state.

In the territorial adjustment of the other great Germanic powers, Bavaria acquired, for its cessions to Austria, a part of the left bank of the Rhine, Wurzburg, and Aschaffenburg, with some portions of Fulda. Wurtemberg and Baden remained

and Hausruckviertel ceded in 1809. 5. From Russia she recovered the district ceded in East Gallicia. See Heeren, vol. ii. p. 412.

¹⁶ Of the ten provinces of this monarchy, seven only belong to the Germanic confederation; the other three are East and West Prussia, and Posen.

without alteration. Hanover, now a kingdom, received from Prussia Hildesheim, East Friesland, the lower district of Lingen, Meppen, a part of Eichsfeld, and some districts from the elector of Hesse; ceding however to Prussia Lauenburg beyond the Elbe, (afterwards exchanged with Denmark for Pomerania and Rugen) as well as some other districts.

The restoration of the state of the Netherlands was considered among the most important objects of congress; since Belgium, in the hands of France, was the first and most direct avenue to universal dominion. The apparent necessity of founding there a powerful sovereignty, which, at least in alliance with Prussia, should be strong enough to defend itself, produced the union of all the Netherlands, with a liberal constitution, under a single monarch: ¹⁷ the necessity of a fixed boundary was also provided for; and England agreed to strengthen this at her own cost by a chain of fortifications, in return for the cession of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. Though it was not expected that two nations differing in origin, language, and religion, could immediately amalgamate; and though it was not possible to open at once to the industry of both the commerce and markets which they desired; yet it was hoped that the foundation of a permanent union might be laid, and that the wisdom of the house of Orange would effect the rest. As if it were possible to change the nature of a Dutchman!

The restoration of the French state, as before observed, was the means and condition of restoring that of Europe: the necessity of its continuance as one of the most powerful monarchies in Europe had been openly proclaimed by the allies, even in the midst of their victories; and though France was now brought back to her ancient limits, yet her situation and extent, her climate, soil, population, and spirit, must ever give her an enviable pre-eminence over her neighbors, which nothing but internal dissensions can destroy. Her constitution was wisely left to her own judgment; and although

¹⁷ The constituent parts of the kingdom of the Netherlands were, all the Batavian and Belgic provinces, with Luttich, divided into seventeen provinces; beside the separate grand duchy of Luxemburg, through which the kingdom itself formed a part of the Germanic confederation. The inheritance of the throne was secured to the house of Orange; the king being invested with full executive powers, and a council of his own appointment: there was a legislative body, or states-general, divided into two chambers; while freedom of worship and political equality of religious denominations were accorded.

that which the nation offered to its restored monarch had been rejected, yet no serious objections were made to the *charte* which Louis XVIII. presented to them in return; while his prudence and moderation were a pledge that it was given in sincerity, and would be faithfully observed: the existence, however, of a free constitution, with an autocratic administration, was a problem that remained to be solved.¹⁸

A special committee was appointed for the restoration of the Swiss confederacy; the result of which was the annexation of the three separated cantons of Valais, Neufchatel, and Geneva, to the union; with an acknowledgement of its perpetual neutrality. According to a new act, signed and sworn to this year by the twenty-two cantons, all guaranteed each other's territory and constitution. There were no longer any subject countries; and the enjoyment of political rights was not confined to any class of citizens: a diet was established, to be held every two years at Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne successively, to discuss the affairs of the confederacy; to be formed of delegates from all the cantons, who should vote according to instructions: in common cases the majority to decide; two thirds being necessary in the case of foreign alliances.

With regard to Sardinia, its territorial extent was increased, less in conformity with the principles of right than of convenience, by the incorporation of the republic of Genoa, with a free harbor for the capital; while the succession was secured to the line of Carignano. The states of the church were restored to their ancient limits before the revolution, including Bologna and Ferrara; in which latter city, however, Austria reserved the right of keeping a garrison, while France retained Avignon. The *secundo-genitures* of Tuscany and Modena, belonging to Austria, were augmented by the establishment of Parma and

¹⁸ The French *charte* had much in common with the British, but not every thing: it gave a constitutional king, with the plenitude of executive power, responsible ministers, a chamber of hereditary peers appointed by the king, and a chamber of deputies; but the king had an exclusive power of proposing laws; the inheritance of the peerage was connected with primogeniture; and the ministers had, *ex officio*, a seat and power of speaking in the chambers. The law of election and of age made forty years requisite for a deputy, thirty for a peer; but changes have since been made in this constitution, especially connected with the peerage and the press: of its colonies, France recovered Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, Les Saintes with its port of St. Martin, Cayenne, Senegal, and Goree; the isle of Bourbon, Pondicherry, Mahé, and Chandernagore.

Piacenza into a state for the archduchess Maria Louisa ; but to this arrangement, Spain, who claimed those cities for Don Carlos, son to the former queen of Etruria, made such resistance, that she refused to sign the act of congress.

The republic of the seven islands, formed during the storms of war, was placed under the protection of Great Britain, with the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowledgement of its commercial flag ; the British sovereign to depute a lord high commissioner, with a power of appointing the president of the senate, consisting of five members taken from the legislative assembly, chosen by the noble electors : the senate to possess the executive and initiatory powers ; so that every law and resolution must first have the approbation of the lord commissioner : each island to have its separate government and courts, but with a court of appeal for all. In regard to the wretched countries of Spain and Portugal, the settlement of their governments, allied with all that is bigoted and contemptible in human nature, was impracticable : their future changes and prospects will be noticed hereafter.

As the northern part of Europe had not been spared by the convulsions of the times, so all the states pertaining to it underwent considerable changes. Denmark had to renounce Norway, receiving in return only Swedish Pomerania ; which she subsequently exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenburg as far as the Elbe : her form of government remained unaltered ; but the introduction of a constitution of states into Holstein drew the country within the bounds of the great Germanic confederacy. The Scandinavian peninsula was now brought under the dominion of one monarch ; and Sweden found in this union a political, if not a statistical equivalent, for the loss of Finland : with free constitutions, though differing in some respects from each other, and under a monarch renowned both in peace and war, Sweden and Norway have nothing to desire, and are probably destined to enjoy a very long period of peace and prosperity.

No state issued from the storms of war more strengthened by the national spirit arising from success, and more enlarged by territorial acquisitions, than Russia, that great leviathan of the north : on one side she was aggrandised by all Finland ; on another by Bessarabia, with part of Moldavia ; and on a third by several provinces acquired from Persia ; while Poland was allotted to her in the present congress : this unfortunate country, though it was united for ever to the Russian empire, acquired a representative government of its own, which left the

principal regulations, as they existed in the duchy of Warsaw, unchanged: the emperor, as its king, obtained the plenitude of executive power, of which he confided the discharge to a viceroy, assisted by ministers and a council of state; the diet, consisting of the senate and chamber of deputies, to be convened every two years: its limits comprised the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of Posen (assigned to Prussia), and the small district of Cracow, to which city, independence, a free constitution, and absolute neutrality were secured. Thus Russia, pertaining to two quarters of the world, with her eye fixed, as was supposed, on the ancient seat of Constantine, became a subject of considerable anxiety and distrust to many members of the European confederacy. Nor did England, which emerged uninjured from the distress of nations, and required no restoration of territory or constitution, escape the jealousy of other states: the unexampled efforts which this country had made for the salvation of Europe demanded some recompense; and that was given in the possession of Malta and the Cape, as well as in the protective sovereignty of the Ionian islands: these acquisitions were small indeed in point of territory; yet when viewed in conjunction with her insular dependencies, and her possession of Gibraltar, they appeared to many as the great prizes of the war: in fact, they did confirm her power as mistress of the ocean; while her tremendous navy, and her colonial possessions in both hemispheres, hid from general view, but known every where by their effects, added an awful sublimity to her grandeur, which has never been attained by any other empire: yet, as apprehensions existed of injury to the balance of power by the union of Poland with Russia, especially if that mighty state should hereafter be augmented by the spoils of Turkey, what counterpoise could have been contrived so admirable and effectual as the naval power of England? a power mighty to control, but harmless to subdue; more especially when connected with a constitution like that of Great Britain.

The influence of her constitution on other nations, contributed to her glory, more even than the splendor of victory: by her fixed and earnest purpose, the abolition of the slave trade, as far as circumstances would permit, had been effected; by her institutions, the light of christianity, that great vehicle of civilisation, had been diffused over all quarters of the globe; and they now became the source of that free spirit, which appeared in many parts of the new European confederacy: a taste for political freedom, thus excited in the western nations,

may in itself perhaps be considered as the best counterpoise against the predominating power of particular states. 'Nevertheless,' as it has been observed, 'an aristocracy of the leading powers was practically and diplomatically formed in the restored system, such as did not exist, at least openly, in the former system of Europe: practically it originated in the manner of the restoration; for how was it possible that the management of general affairs should not come into the hands of monarchs, to whose strenuous exertions the weaker states were indebted for their restoration? In a diplomatic point of view, this aristocracy, proceeding from the nature of the relations, was founded by the treaty of Chaumont, establishing for twenty years a quadruple alliance of the four leading powers, Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia; it was confirmed by the forms of negociation, and the league of Vienna: finally, it was perfected by the accession of France to that league at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.'¹⁹ There was however one radical cause of mischief in all these proceedings: no political change can be secure, which insults the feelings of human nature, or violates the principle of justice. To some of the bartered provinces their separate independence had been guarantied; while others were transferred to rulers, who waited only for such a connexion to oppress them with intolerable servitude, and to drain every source of their prosperity, for the benefit of the sovereign territory. The disgust of the Belgians with their union was little less than that of the victims of Mezentius: the Milanese had an equal horror of Austrian domination: the Saxons clung with a more than filial affection to the memory of their excellent sovereign, and his paternal government; while the devoted Poles could not shut their eyes against the miserable fate impending over their heads: hence, in the very ground that was prepared for a harvest of all peaceful virtues, the seeds of dissension were plentifully scattered; nor did a long period elapse before this became evident. It was hoped however that policy might acquire a higher sanction than mere diplomacy could lend: religion therefore was called in to its aid; a holy alliance was contemplated, over which, when it assembled, the false principles already introduced into the system threw a dark shade of suspicion, and rendered it a by-word among the nations: whether any sinister views or ambitious motives lay concealed in the background at its formation, it is difficult to discover; for many obstacles stood

¹⁹ Heeren, vol. ii. p. 438.

in the way of its beneficial operation, owing to the defective nature and imperfect knowledge of popular rights on the continent: probably, its founder, Alexander, was sincere; and his memory suffers from the merciless disposition of the tyrant now seated on his throne: the treaty of Vienna however has generally turned out a dead letter, or has only been active when it could be rendered an instrument of oppression. The Prussian people are still without a constitution; while the prisons of Austria echo with the groans of thousands distinguished by rank, and talent, and patriotism; and who, daring even to dream of independence, may have given utterance to their sleeping thoughts. Poland has been deprived of her diet; and that of Hungary has been shorn of its influence and popular attributes: Switzerland has been frightened out of her independence; and the armies of three mighty potentates have been drawn round the little city of Cracow, because, relying on the faith of treaties, and refusing to follow the base example of Prussia, it refused to violate the laws of hospitality, by giving up to the insatiable rage of Nicholas a few intrepid Poles who claimed its protection. The law of nations has, from the earliest times, accorded an asylum in a foreign land to the stranger prosecuted for political offences in his own; and it has been reserved for the three powers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to claim the infamy of its infraction, in order that the blood-stained Nicholas may glut his vengeance to the full. Thousands of the wretched Poles have fallen in the field; thousands are lingering in the deserts of Siberia; thousands have perished under tortures mental and corporeal; yet the vengeance of the autocrat is not satisfied: so Austria and Prussia consent to become panders for its gratification, by the open violation of a solemn treaty made and ratified at the congress of Vienna!

In the mean time, while the pomp of European diplomacy was there collected, and every day saw some new experiment of power, in the mutilation of monarchies, and the transfer of allegiance, intelligence arrived, that the prisoner of Elba had escaped, and was already seated on the throne of Louis *le Désiré*. The explosion of a mine could scarcely have startled the negociators more: 'the grand charlatan has out-tricked the little ones,' exclaimed the witty and sarcastic diplomatist: but it happened that he out-tricked himself at the same time; for had he waited only a few months longer, not only would the congress have been dissolved, but its troops would have been disbanded. Europe was now once more in full pano-

ply; and England, without trusting merely to subsidies, or the faith of foreign courts, boldly took that lead in the contest, which became her rank, her interest in the event, and her established superiority in arms.

Though the terms of the peace had been studiously calculated to recommend it to the French, no concessions were of much avail with the mass of that people: after the recollection of their escape from the horrors of unsuccessful war, and the consequent invasion of their territories, had subsided, they became disposed to murmur at the contraction of their boundaries, and to complain that Belgium at least had not remained with them: but this was only a slight grievance compared with the wounds inflicted on their sense of honor, as it was called, or rather, on that vanity which arises from military ascendancy and national aggrandisement: discontent on this score passed from the ranks of the army into different classes of society; while various other sources of dissatisfaction and of embarrassment arose from the restraint necessarily placed on the liberty of the press; from apprehensions naturally entertained, lest the crown and church lands, alienated during the revolution, should be now resumed; from the claims and conduct of the emigrants; and from the enormous defalcation of the finances, which, in the two years of 1812 and 1813 alone, equalled the sum of £13,000,000 sterling; but which had been studiously kept out of public view by Napoleon: thus split into parties, vexed with nameless jealousies, and, above all, imbued with a spirit that revolted from the sacred ties of morality and religion, France was at this time full of inflammable materials; nor was a torch long wanting to light them up into a flame.

For some time, Napoleon had felt irritated and discontented in his exile. From the first, the most serious blunders in diplomacy had been committed with respect to the fallen emperor. 'To extinguish his ambition,' says an eloquent writer, 'he had been suffered to retain the imperial title; to destroy his connexion with the French military, he was permitted to retain his flag, his staff, and a portion of his guard; to prevent the possibility of his renewing disturbances in France or Italy, he was fixed on an island almost within sight of both: the consequences were foreseen by all mankind, except the emperors, the diplomatists, and the Bourbons.'²⁰ At this particular time, he became subject to great pecuniary

²⁰ Croly, *Life of George IV.* p. 437.

inconveniences, from plunging into expenses without weighing the amount of his resources ; and these evils were much heightened by the culpable neglect of the French government, which had not paid a single franc of the yearly income secured to him by treaty : thus harassed, and tormented by the restlessness of a mind impatient of restraint, he gave vent to expressions which excited suspicion ; and it is said, that not only a plan was in agitation for removing him from his island throne, and transferring him to a securer place of confinement ; but that the design transpired, and reached the ears of Napoleon himself. Having therefore found means to elude the vigilance of Sir Neil Campbell, appointed by a loose kind of commission to watch his movements, he embarked, with his 400 guards, 100 Polish lancers, and about 200 Italian adventurers, on board his brig, and three other vessels that were accidentally in the harbor of Porto Ferrajo : after escaping detection by several French men of war, as well as the pursuit of Sir Neil Campbell, the illustrious adventurer landed in the evening of the first of March, at Cannes, near Frejus ; which place had seen him embark both for Egypt and for Elba. Having bivouacked on the shore until the moon arose, he advanced at the head of his little band, and was received with enthusiasm by the peasantry : at Grenoble, where general Marchand commanded, a part of the garrison was drawn out to oppose his progress ; the muskets of the soldiers were even pointed against him and his followers ; when Napoleon, advancing with intrepid step, and asking, ‘Who desired to slay him ? for now was his time !’ was answered by the old cry of *Vive l’Empereur !* Marchand, faithful to his trust, then ordered the garrison to arms, and the artillery on the ramparts to be charged ; but the gunners put in the shot before the powder ; while Labedoyère, colonel of the seventh regiment, marched out at the head of his corps with drums beating, and preceded by the eagles of the regiment, to salute and join the emperor : this impulse decided the conduct of the army, and the success of the enterprise. The startling news had now reached Paris : Louis XVIII. proclaimed Napoleon a traitor, and set a price on the head of one who derided the idle menace : he then proposed Soult for the command of the army, which was to cut off the invader’s march from Lyons : the marshal however prudently declined this honor, satisfied himself by laughing at Napoleon’s temerity, and proposed in his stead the impolitic and impetuous Ney, who, in the pride of recent favors, boasted that ‘he would bring back the Corsican in an iron cage :’ Napoleon however directed

Bertrand to write a letter to that marshal, in which he threw on him the responsibility of all the blood that might be shed ; and Ney then joined his standard. That the Bourbons might not be wanting to their own cause, Monsieur, with the duke of Orleans, set out for Lyons ; and the duc d'Angoulême repaired to Nismes : the legislative body, and many of the nobility, declared for the royal cause ; and the ministers of foreign powers, resident at Paris, hastened to assure his majesty of foreign support. An address, on the eighth of March, was issued by Soult, then minister of war, denouncing Buonaparte as a traitor, and exhorting the French soldiers 'to rally round the banner of the lilies, at the voice of the worthy heir of the great Henry : ' but the king grew uneasy at the defeat of all the plans of his war minister, and dismissed him with a letter full of compliment and royal confidence : after the lapse of two months from Soult's address, he was announced in the *Moniteur* as major-general of Napoleon's empire, and gazetted as a peer ! In the mean time, the emperor had issued his decrees from Lyons, rescinding all that had been done in his absence, and was advancing on the capital. As a last resource, Louis convoked a council on the eighteenth of March ; when the marshals, and other officers present, gave their opinion that no effectual resistance could be made ; though they were so warmly contradicted by the royalist nobles, that the king was obliged hastily to break up the assembly : the question however was soon brought to an issue ; for the two armies approached each other at Melun ; that of the king, under the command of marshal Macdonald, being drawn up, on the twentieth, in three lines, to stop the invaders : there was for a long time a pause of suspense : at length, about noon, the sound of galloping steeds was heard ; an open carriage appeared, escorted by a few troopers, and drawn by four horses at full speed : it suddenly stopped ; and Napoleon, in his gray coat, leaping from the vehicle, plunged into the ranks which had been formed to oppose him : then arose the general shout of *Vive l'Empereur !* and no farther obstacle existed between himself and that capital, which for a brief space he was destined once more to occupy as sovereign.

The unhappy Louis, anticipating this defection of his army, had departed from Paris, followed by the brave and faithful Macdonald : proceeding on the way to Lille, he passed through Abbeville and other garrison towns, where the soldiers received him with a sullen kind of respect. At Lille he hoped to make a stand ; but marshal Mortier, being aware of the state of the

garrison, urged him to proceed ; when he departed to Ostend, and subsequently to Ghent. In the mean time, the revolution had full play in the capital ; where Lavallette, one of Napoleon's ancient aides-de-camp, having assumed the management of the post-office, was enabled to intercept the royal proclamations, and announce to every department the restoration of the emperor. The white flag, which floated over the Tuilleries, was now taken down, and replaced by the tri-colored banner ; and when Napoleon arrived, late in the evening, he was welcomed by such crowds pressing around him, that his officers were obliged to support him in their arms up the grand staircase ; and thence into the royal apartments, where he listened to the joyous acclamations of the multitude.

As already has been observed, the congress was sitting when these remarkable incidents astonished the world : it became necessary therefore for that body to express its sentiments on so extraordinary an occasion : accordingly, a declaration appeared on the thirteenth of March, asserting that Napoleon Buonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended ; and that for the future there could be neither peace nor truce with one who, having placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, had rendered himself liable to public vengeance : desiring therefore to maintain intire the treaty of Paris, and the dispositions which it sanctioned, they expressed their resolution to provide against every attempt that might threaten to replunge the world into the disorders of revolution.

All Europe now rang with preparations for war : a treaty was formed between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to maintain and enforce the above-mentioned resolutions ; each of the contracting parties agreeing to keep constantly in the field 150,000 men ; and engaging, among many other stipulations, not to lay down their arms but by common consent. The usurper did not hesitate to declare his ready acquiescence in the treaty of Paris, and to express, in a letter to each of the allied monarchs, a wish to make peace on its principles : no answer however was returned ; for the decision of the confederates had been already taken : finding therefore that nothing could be gained by negociation, Napoleon became sensible that the grand point at issue could only be determined on the field of battle : consequently, he endeavored in good earnest to conciliate the French people ; publishing a list of his own grievances to justify the step he had taken, and especially insisting on his restoration to the throne by the voice of the nation. On

the fourteenth of May, a solemn festival was celebrated in favor of the federates, from which the emperor himself seemed to shrink in abhorrence; and on the first of June he held the assembly of the Champ de Mai, to present his new constitution to the people, and to distribute among his regiments the eagles under which they were no longer destined to conquer. Having next summoned the chambers, he discarded all pretensions to absolute power, and professed himself a friend to constitutional liberty: he remarked that there was little cause to provide against the intoxications of triumph, when they were about to contend for existence; and having stated the crisis to be imminent, he cautioned them to avoid the conduct of the Roman people in the latter stages of the empire, who engaged fiercely in abstract discussions while the common enemy was battering the gates of the capital; and then departing 'to measure himself with Wellington,' he left them engaged in the task of altering and modifying his new code of laws. The defeat and ruin of the king of Naples about this time was a discouraging event to Napoleon. Murat, against whose tenure of the throne old Ferdinand exclaimed most vehemently, had never been acknowledged king; and being apprehensive, not without reason, that the congress of Vienna meditated his dethronement, he suddenly attacked the Austrians, and proclaimed the independence of Italy: but the Italian patriots had not sufficient confidence in his character or pretensions to answer his invocation; and the Neapolitan rabble was little qualified to contend with the legions of Austria. After some slight successes, he was routed in two engagements, and escaped to France, a disguised and miserable fugitive; his rash conduct in the present instance being as unfortunate for Buonaparte, as his base desertion had been in the preceding year. Napoleon's only chance of peace lay in the interest he might excite in the mind of the Austrian emperor: but this was now wholly cut off; for 'how can I treat with him,' said Francis, 'when he excites his brother-in-law to attack me in Italy?'

The sensation created in England by Buonaparte's resumption of the French throne, though strong, was hardly equal to the singular importance of that event: the period was one of tumultuary discontent throughout the realm; and the week in which the news arrived from France was signalised by the most alarming riots that had distinguished the metropolis for many years. Bread being the chief article of daily sustenance, its supply at a moderate price is necessarily an object of general

desire; and the people expected that the return of peace would gratify their wishes in this respect: but the lords and occupiers of land, unwilling to relinquish the high prices which corn had for some years borne, and having a strong pretext in the heavy burdens left on them, above all other classes, to support, were clamorous for a prohibitory duty on foreign grain: the subject had been discussed in the preceding session; and the result was an act which allowed exportation without duty or bounty; but a bill for regulating importation was rejected, with a view to farther inquiry. Mr. Frederick Robinson now revived that scheme which suited the views of the corn-growers, by proposing that no wheat should be imported, while the price of a quarter remained under eighty shillings in the united kingdom; but that it might be introduced from the British territories in North America, when the price was so low as sixty-seven shillings; and he argued for the necessity of altering the laws on this subject, from the serious injury to which the agricultural interest, the great support of the country, would otherwise be liable: it was highly impolitic, he said, to depend on foreign supplies; and the greatest encouragement ought to be given to the production of such a stock of corn as would preclude the necessity of importation.

His proposition was strongly resisted by Mr. Baring, who alleged that the practice of importation had not checked the progress of agriculture; that the accommodation of general consumers ought to be more anxiously consulted than the exclusive interests of the cultivators of land; and that the suggested standard was improperly calculated on the supposed continuance of the present expenses of the latter class. Numerous petitions from the manufacturing and commercial towns were presented against any alteration of the laws respecting corn; and from that period to the present this question has been a never-ceasing source of clamor and discontent. Notwithstanding the indication of popular feeling, a bill was introduced, after warm preliminary debates, for the gratification of the landholders; and it was supported in its progress by ample majorities, while the consumers of bread became infuriated at the prospect of high prices and starvation. Multitudes, chiefly from Spitalfields, blocking up the avenues to both houses of parliament, so insulted and maltreated obnoxious members, that it became necessary to call out the military in aid of the civil power: several houses of the principal supporters of the bill were attacked by the mob, and that of Mr. Robinson was more particularly injured by wanton

havoc : a renewal of these outrages occasioned the death of two individuals, who, though not engaged in the riot, were unfortunately shot from one of the windows, by soldiers stationed within. When the bill passed through both houses, the corporation of London addressed the regent, in hopes that he would withhold the royal assent to a measure which was disapproved by the generality of the nation ; but it scarcely could be expected that he would reject a measure which his ministers promoted, and which a large majority of each house had deliberately sanctioned.

The commotion thus excited was arrested, rather than allayed, by the sudden event which again compromised the peace of Europe. That the escape and restoration of Napoleon would rekindle the flames of war, who indeed could doubt ? Such a declaration as might have been expected had already emanated from the congress ; and the treaty of Chaumont was rendered still more obligatory on the confederated princes by its renewal at Vienna. Preparations for the execution of its menaces were instantly prosecuted with zeal and alacrity in this country : the prince regent sent a message to both houses, in which he stated, that, relying on the support of parliament, he had given orders for the augmentation of his land and naval forces : the necessity for war was not indeed at this time insisted on ; though the cabinet had undoubtedly resolved on hostilities, by previously sending instructions for the signature of a treaty which breathed the most warlike spirit. The address of the peers passed without a division ; but, in the house of commons, Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, expressly recommending the preservation of peace. He regarded the address as covertly pledging the house to war ; but Mr. Ponsonby construed it as expressing no such pledge : thus the opposition was divided against itself, and the amendment rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty votes over thirty-seven. The supposed negligence of ministers in suffering the escape of one whom they had branded as the oppressor of Europe, formed a subject of pointed animadversion ; and it was fairly contended, that, if the allies thought him so dangerous an enemy to the civilised world, they ought to have secured his person, when they had it in their power : yet they had made a very impolitic choice of a residence, from which their own want of vigilance tempted him to emigrate.

A vehement attack also was at this time made on the imperfections of the American treaty : Mr. Ponsonby censured the negligence of the plenipotentiaries, not only for their long

delay in adjusting the treaty, but for the indefinite postponement of the most important objects of discussion. Peace, he said, was highly desirable; but if it did not promise to be permanent, blame must attach itself to the negociators, or to the statesmen by whom they were employed; because it was the true interest of both nations to remove all grounds of dispute. Mr. Goulburn, who, with the assistance of lord Gambia and Dr. Adams, had managed the treaty on the part of Great Britain, denied that the alleged delay was impolitic or unnecessary; since it was the duty of himself and his colleagues to proceed with caution, and to secure by discussion and expostulation the most favorable terms. The American negociators, he observed, had been ordered to decline a definitive adjustment, unless the claim of impressment should be relinquished, and the rights of neutrals explicitly acknowledged: but to prevent a continuance of the war, they at length agreed to waive those points. Mr. Baring, dissatisfied with this vindication of the treaty, severely condemned the whole process, and its very imperfect result; but neither his animadversions, nor those of other members, could procure thirty-seven votes for an amendment, while an address of thanks was supported by 128. In the upper house, when the treaty had been severely arraigned by lord Wellesley, and feebly defended by earl Bathurst, eighty-three votes were procured for an address, against a minority of thirty.

An important act was passed in the beginning of this session, for extending the trial by jury, in civil causes, to Scotland: its provisions differed in several particulars from those of the English law; and the granting such a trial was made optional, in each case, with the judges: but hopes were entertained that at no distant period a farther extension of the principle would be allowed; especially as the present measure was favorably received in Scotland. A bill also passed for continuing the restriction of cash payments by the bank of England, till the fifth of July, 1816; a motion for inquiry having been previously negatived.

On the twenty-second of May the final question of war was brought before parliament by a message from the throne: it was debated next day in the lords, where earl Grey in a powerful speech strongly urged the necessity of a pacific policy for this country; while lord Grenville supported the warlike views of administration: on the twenty-fifth it was discussed in the commons, where Mr. Grattan, with a vehement and eloquent indignation, declaiming against the despoiler of Europe, advo-

cated the most energetic measures to hurl him from the throne which he had usurped. The renewal of war however demanded large supplies; and such were granted, as stand an unparalleled instance of national power in the annals of the world. Will posterity believe, that, after the exhaustion consequent on so long a war, this nation was able in one year to raise the enormous sum of £90,000,000 sterling for the public service? Yes: for in the future development of British resources, it is probable that posterity will be enabled to double the sum, if requisite. The allies of Great Britain were able to furnish men in abundance; but their pecuniary means were inadequate to the present exigency: £9,000,000 therefore were allowed, under the head of foreign disbursements; England paying eighteen pounds for each foot soldier, and thirty pounds for each horseman, to make up the deficiency of her contingent settled by the treaty of Chaumont: more than £39,000,000 were still required for the expenses of her own army establishment, besides a sum nearly amounting to £5,500,000 for the ordnance department; while, to make assurance doubly sure, the navy was kept up in all its prowess, at an expense of £18,644,200! The unjust and inquisitorial income tax, which ministers had abandoned to popular indignation, was continued as an indispensable part of the financial system in time of war; for its produce amounted to £14,000,000. The loan system now reached its acmé; the whole sum so raised this year being £42,000,000. A message from the regent on the twenty-seventh of June announced the marriage of the duke of Cumberland with the widow of the prince of Salms; and a motion was made in the commons for an addition to his royal highness's income; but as it appeared that the queen had expressed strong objections to the union, the grant was negatived by 126 votes against 125. The escape of lord Cochrane from the king's bench prison, his recapture, and subsequent liberation, would scarcely be worth noticing, were it not for the remarkable circumstance, that, on this occasion, his single voice determined the question, and relieved the speaker from the unpleasant necessity of giving a casting vote on a question of considerable delicacy. Parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of July by a speech from the throne.

The close of the year 1814 had left the fortified frontier of the Belgic provinces, on the side of France, occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly of British troops, or of such as were in British pay. From the commencement of the alarm excited by Napoleon's return, reinforcements had been quickly and unre-

mittingly sent from England ; while the duke of Wellington set out from Vienna to assume the command of the British and foreign troops in Belgium : in the latter part of May, the Prussian army, under prince Blucher, arrived in the vicinity of Namur ; and frequent conferences respecting a plan of co-operation took place between these two generals. The Prussians, at the time when operations commenced, could bring about 110,000 men into the field ; but some of their corps were composed of raw recruits, drawn from provinces lately acquired ; while many had even served under the great commander whom they came now to oppose. The disposable forces under the duke of Wellington scarcely amounted to 80,000 ; of which about 30,000 were British, and 4000 well-trying German legionaries : the rest were Belgians, Dutch, and Hanoverians, with troops from Brunswick, Wurtemberg, and Nassau : the whole of the infantry were formed into ten divisions, and these again into two grand corps ; one under the orders of the prince of Orange, who had his head-quarters at Brain le Compté, on the road from Mons to Brussels ; the other under lord Hill, with his head-quarters at Brussels ; while the reserve of 10,000 men was placed under the gallant Sir Thomas Picton. The cavalry, between 12,000 and 15,000 strong, and probably superior to any force of the kind ever brought into the field, was posted, under lord Anglesea, about Grammont, on the British right : the magnificent train of artillery consisted of 250 pieces, of which the grand *parc* was at Ghent. Quatre-Bras, on the road from Charleroi to Brussels, was appointed to be the general rallying point by the duke, with a view to communication with his allies.

Blucher's army, divided into four corps under generals Ziethen, Pirch, Thielman, and Bulow, lined the banks of the Sambre and the Meuse from Charleroi to Liege, at which latter place Bulow's corps was posted : Blucher himself had his head quarters at Namur, and his rallying point was Fleurus. The Austrians, advancing both by the Rhine and the Alps, were as yet far from the line of operations, and the Russians at a still greater distance ; but before the end of July the coalition would press with at least 600,000 effective troops on the French frontier : hence the anxiety of Napoleon to strike a decisive blow ; since victory at that moment would have rallied the Belgians round his standard, and given time for the organisation of immense military corps in France to oppose the advancing waves of war. Marshal Soult had, in the beginning of June, assumed the command of what was called the grand army

of the north, with the rank of major-general; and after appealing to the courage and patriotism of the French troops, he reviewed the different corps, and inspected the fortresses. On the fourteenth, Napoleon joined the imperial guard, took the supreme command of the army, and put forth from his headquarters at Beaumont an address, which concluded with the following words:—‘for every Frenchman who has courage, the moment is come to conquer or to die.’ His five corps of infantry were commanded by generals d’Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Lobau; but the imperial guard left its commander, marshal Mortier, sick at Beaumont: four corps of cavalry, under the orders of Pajol, Excelmans, Kellerman, and Milhaud, were commanded in chief by marshal Grouchy; the whole amounting to about 130,000 men, with a superb *parc* of 350 pieces of artillery. This army, though far inferior in numbers to the allied forces, enjoyed several eminent advantages over them; for it was exclusively composed of French soldiers, mostly veterans, trained in warfare, well acquainted with their officers, placing unlimited confidence in their leader, and looking eagerly forward to the splendid rewards which had ever awaited troops that conquered under his auspices.

In the memoirs dictated at St. Helena, Napoleon has himself explained the design or plan of his operations: his intention, as it appears, was to throw himself between the two allied armies; to separate the Prussians from the British; to attack each in detail, in the hope of beating one before it could receive assistance from the other. Calculating on the supposed character of his antagonists, he imagined that the Prussians would be first in the field, while he did not believe that the British army would make any forward movement until its intire force was assembled: the plan was excellent, had the allies been so far asunder, that either could have been forced to fight before its assailants became exposed to the attack of the other; but in the present case the French were thrown between two large armies, distant only a single day’s march; each having secure diverging lines of retreat on its own supplies and fortresses; and both having secure concentric lines of retreat also on fortresses, which not only left their communications open, but enabled them, at any time, to unite their forces by a single march.¹

Having masked his movements and concentrated his troops with his usual skill and rapidity on the very edge of the frontier

¹ United Service Journal for 1834, part i. p. 475.

by the evening of the fourteenth, Napoleon crossed its line by daybreak on the fifteenth, in three columns, directing them on Marchiennes-au-Pont, Charleroi, and Chatelet. Some severe skirmishing attended this hostile invasion; for the Prussian general, Ziethen, whose division was nearest to the foe, had been ordered to dispute the ground; which order was steadily and bravely executed, though not without considerable loss: Charleroi, however, was occupied by the French, and the Sambre also was crossed at the other two points: the corps of Reille advanced to Gosselies; while Grouchy, with his cavalry, pushed Ziethen on Fleurus, against which place the whole centre and right wing of the army, with the imperial guard, under the emperor in person, was directed: in the mean time, Ney was ordered to take the command of the left wing, consisting of eight divisions of infantry and four of cavalry, and lead it against Quatre-Bras; whence, after having overthrown such opposition as might be offered by the Belgian and British troops, he was to push forward strong outposts on the road to Brussels.

Some time elapsed before prince Blucher obtained any information respecting Napoleon's movements in advance: on the morning of this day, when the emperor had entered Charleroi, the Prussian forces were cantoned over an extent of thirty leagues; and it required two days to assemble them.² Intelligence of the event arrived at Brussels about six o'clock in the evening; but the duke of Wellington did not rely sufficiently on its authenticity to put his army in motion, when a false movement might be ruinous; though preparatory notice for the troops to assemble was immediately given: about eleven, however, more certain accounts reached his grace, who, with many other superior officers of the British army, was at a grand ball given by the duchess of Richmond. Instantly orders were issued, that the garrison of Brussels, which was the nearest disposable force, should move to check the enemy: similar commands were given to the cavalry, artillery, and guards, quartered at Enghien; while other troops, cantoned at greater distances, were directed to move up to their support. Two distinguished highland regiments, the forty-second and ninety-second, were among the first to muster, with alacrity, to the sound of a well-known pibroch, called 'the Camerons' Gathering:' they formed part of the fifth division under the gallant Picton, who was still placed in the battle's front.

² Memoirs relative to 1815 at St. Helena.

Before daybreak on the sixteenth, all were on full march, inspired with confidence and courage, toward the scene of expected hostilities; and soon after dawn, the duke himself left Brussels, with a numerous staff: the same morning beheld Blucher's troops entering into position along the heights of Bry; and while Ney, with his left wing, was advancing toward Quatre-Bras, Napoleon, leaving d'Erlon's division of 10,000 men near Marchiennes, to serve as a central support, marched with his main body against the Prussians; but he was unable to concentrate his forces, so as to commence the attack, before three in the afternoon. The intire position of his opponents extended about four miles, being occupied by 70,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 252 pieces of artillery; the forces of the assailants being nearly equal; for the corps under Bulow had not yet arrived at the point of concentration from its distant cantonments between Liege and Hannut. The engagement commenced, on the side of the French, by a tremendous cannonade; under cover of which, the third corps, commanded by Vandamme, made a furious attack on the village of St. Amand, which was taken and retaken several times during the action; little more than one half remaining in possession of the French after several hours of severe fighting: at the same time, Ligny was assailed and defended with equal intrepidity, being taken and retaken as each party was alternately reinforced from masses of infantry disposed behind that part of the village which they respectively occupied: nothing could exceed the fury with which the troops of both nations fought; for probably none ever entertained a more deeply-seated spirit of vengeance than that which animated the French and Prussians at this period. A cannonade on both sides was kept up through the whole afternoon; but in this species of warfare the Prussians suffered most, their masses being drawn up in an exposed situation on the heights behind the villages; while those of the French were sheltered by the winding valleys of the lower ground. It was now seven o'clock: 500 pieces of artillery, during four hours, had been dealing out destruction; a fierce fire of sharp-shooters had been carried on from the beginning along the whole course of the ravine between the two armies; the villages literally had their streets choked up with slain; but no serious impression, no general onset, had been made on either side. Blucher waited for the arrival of Bulow or Wellington; but for what Napoleon tarried it is difficult to say: necessity, however, at length impelled him forward; for evening was now closing in; Bulow was advancing; and the British, still in

position at Quatre-Bras, were joined every hour by reinforcements; so that if the morning sun had found him engaged at Ligny, his doom had been sealed. D'Erlon's division, therefore, was now ordered up; but before it arrived, the whole French guard, supported by a strong force of cuirassiers, was pushed through and round the village of Ligny, with orders to attack the heights of Bry: promptly and boldly these were executed; and as the Prussian reserves had been despatched to St. Amand, Blucher had no means of repelling the assault but by meeting it with his cavalry: placing himself, therefore, at the head of the sixth lancers, he led them to the charge in the most determined manner; but all in vain: his troops were forced back in great disorder; the French cavalry followed up their success; and the gallant old man narrowly escaped death, or what would have been to his noble spirit worse than death, captivity. His gray charger, a gift of the prince regent of England, was struck by a cannon shot, and fell, just as the Prussian lancers turned away from their steel-clad foes. 'Now, Nostitz, I am lost!' he exclaimed to his aide-de-camp, as he sank beneath the dying steed: his faithful friend, however, did not forsake him; but with admirable presence of mind threw a military cloak over the fallen chief, while their impetuous enemies rushed on without noticing the group. Before count Nostitz could extricate his commander, the French cuirassiers were driven back over the field, and the whole broken rout again passed by them: but the count had now seized the bridle of a soldier's horse, and with the assistance of its rider, he placed the marshal on it, and conveyed him out of danger: he had, however, scarcely effected this, before the enemy advanced again in full force; and, carrying all before them, gained the central point of the long-disputed position; when the day was their own. Recovering from the effects of his fall, Blucher now directed the retreat of his army on Tilly, and achieved it unmolested; since the French did not continue their pursuit beyond the abandoned heights. Such was the battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians, as their brave commander observed, 'lost the field, but not their honor.' The measure of advantage, however, which Buonaparte derived from this success, was greatly limited by the unfavorable result of Ney's action on the left.

Here, says an intelligent observer, we come to the first accusation preferred against that intrepid marshal by Napoleon, who charges him with having lost many hours of valuable time, by delaying the attack on Quatre-Bras till three o'clock in the afternoon; though the emperor himself, whose army had

a shorter distance to march, only began that on Ligny at the same hour. Ney was at Gosselies on the evening of the fifteenth, and his light troops had advanced to Frasnes: in marching on Quatre-Bras next morning, it is said, he had only eight miles to go: he was opposed by a few of the Nassau light infantry, insufficient to retard his column for an instant; and yet he reached the point of destination, only a short time before Picton's division and the duke of Brunswick's corps came up, after a march of twenty-six miles, from Brussels. 'If,' it is observed in reply, 'we suppose that the French corps were all assembled, closed up, and ready to act, as implied by Napoleon, it would be difficult to account for this delay; but Excelmans, with some troops of the left wing, was still on the right bank of the Sambre on the morning of the sixteenth; much nearer, certainly, to the scene of action than the British, but not exactly at hand.'³ Excuse also is made for the marshal on account of the badness of the road along which his column was directed, and the difficulty thence occasioned to so large a force of all arms; while the British were, unfortunately for themselves, almost wholly unencumbered with artillery or cavalry. So various, however, and conflicting are the accounts which ascribe errors and confusion to Ney, and to Napoleon himself, on this occasion, that our limits oblige us to pass them over, and confine ourselves to a detail of the actions that really took place.

On the sixteenth, as already has been mentioned, the left wing of the French army commenced its march toward Quatre-Bras, encountering and driving before them some Belgian troops; but the gallant prince of Orange, who had received his military education under the great duke, advancing to the support of his advanced posts, reinforced them so as to keep the enemy in check. It was of the utmost importance to maintain the position of Quatre-Bras, where the high road from Charleroi to Brussels was intersected by another, forming a communication with the Prussian line at St. Amand. The large wood of Bossu skirted the road to Brussels, on the right hand of the British position; and a deep hollow way ran along the edge of this wood, between which and the French position were several fields of rye grown to its full height: in such a situation, it became a principal object with the French to secure the wood, and with the prince of Orange to defend it; but notwithstanding all his exertions, the Belgians

³ United Service Journal, p. 478.

gave way, and the enemy occupied the disputed post. At this critical moment, Picton's division, the duke of Brunswick's corps, and shortly afterwards a division of guards from Enghien, came up, and entered into action. 'What soldiers are those in the wood?' said the duke of Wellington. 'Belgians,' answered the prince of Orange, who had not yet learned the retreat of his troops from that important point. 'Belgians!' said the duke, whose eagle eye discerned what had happened; 'they are French, and about to debouche on the road: they must be instantly driven out.'⁴ This difficult task was committed to general Maitland, with the grenadiers of the guards; who, after sustaining, as they advanced, a destructive fire from invisible foes, rushed with determined impetuosity into the wood; and having, by several desperate efforts, succeeded in expelling the French, never suffered them to penetrate it again during the rest of the day. Meantime the battle was equally fierce on every other point: Picton's division, stationed near the large farm-house of Quatre-Bras, was exposed to a murderous fire, owing to an advantage which the French possessed, of standing on a rising ground; while our men, sunk to the shoulders among the tall rye, could not return their volleys with equal precision: they were next exposed, particularly the forty-second regiment, to an unexpected charge of cavalry, whose approach was concealed from them by the character of the ground, intersected with hedges, and covered with heavy crops of rye: squares were rapidly formed; but two companies of the highlanders were intercepted; and then, many of those brave men were seen standing back to back, in desperate conflict with the surrounding horsemen, until they were at length cut down without mercy. The daring energy of this cavalry scarcely could be exceeded: Ney attempted a general charge with them, down the causeway leading toward Brussels, with a design of capturing two guns, by which it was commanded; but they were received with such a galling fire from the British infantry, aided by these pieces of artillery, that it could not be sustained; and the whole road was strewed with men and horses: at this moment, Picton, riding up, ordered his men to advance, for the enemy were giving way: then leading them to the charge, he drove his adversaries from their position with great loss; while their fugitives, who escaped to the rear, spread a panic even to Charleroi. The action however was far from being

⁴ Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk, p. 103.

decided ; since the British had but few troops in a condition to pursue, though reinforcements were coming fast up : as these arrived, Ney also became anxious for additional forces, and sent to procure the assistance of d'Erlon's division ; but those troops had been previously ordered toward the emperor's army : as the affair of Ligny however was decided before they arrived at that position, they counter-marched toward Frasnes to succor Ney : but his battle also was then over, and the allies were in quiet possession of the field which they had so nobly won : thus d'Erlon's troops marched from flank to flank without firing a musket during the whole day. It was calculated that about 35,000 men, including both sides, were killed or wounded in these two engagements : in that of Quatre-Bras, the brave duke of Brunswick fell at the head of his corps, and Picton was wounded by a musket ball which broke two of his ribs, and otherwise severely injured him : this circumstance however was not known at the time ; for expecting that another battle was at hand, he divulged the secret to no one but an old confidential servant, with whose assistance he bound up the wound ; and then, with a command over his feelings almost incredible, continued to perform his arduous duties in the field, until a fatal ball at Waterloo happily released him from his sufferings.⁵ The bulletins of the French emperor now announced two victories of the most brilliant description : 'Blucher,' they said, 'would be heard of no more ; and Wellington, confounded and amazed, was already within the jaws of ruin : ' yet Napoleon had been frustrated in his plan of contending with one army before it could be supported by the other : he had been obliged to engage both, and had lost on one side nearly as much as he had gained on the other.

The night of the sixteenth was cold and wet ; but the exhausted troops slept soundly on the field of Quatre-Bras : toward daylight some slight skirmishing roused them to arms ; but no enemy was visible ; and they proceeded to pay that attention to the wounded which the darkness had hitherto prevented. The defeat of the Prussians was not yet known, as an officer sent with that news to the British commander was either killed or captured on the way : it was not till seven o'clock that this important information reached head-quarters ;

⁵ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 362, where it is asserted that his wound received at Quatre-Bras would inevitably have occasioned his death.

and then it was reported that the Prussian army, united with Bulow's division, was placed about six leagues in the rear of its former position, ready to retreat on the river Dyle, in the neighborhood of Wavre. The British, flushed with recent victory, and expecting every moment to be led to new triumphs, were now ordered to retreat, for the purpose of recovering a communication with their allies, and resuming the plan of co-operation arranged between the two commanders. The old peninsular campaigners, who knew how often a retrograde movement had been a prelude to a victory, bore this disappointment with greater equanimity than the younger, and especially the foreign troops, whose confidence was severely shaken by a retreat immediately following so severe an action as that of Quatre-Bras: but the officers of these corps, who were mostly men of character and family, though they began to despair of the common cause, yet rallied the spirits of their troops, and set an example of gallant bearing which soon produced the best effects. The most unpleasant circumstance that had occurred, was the behavior of some Belgians, who, from wearing the same uniform, injured the reputation of the Dutch troops, and reminded our peninsulars of that 'better part of valor,' which they had seen so often displayed by their Spanish and Portuguese allies.

With spirits thus variously affected by past recollections and passing events, the army commenced its retreat in three columns: the first, under lord Hill, proceeded along the Nivelles road to Braine-la-Leud; the second, by the same road, to Hall; and the third, by the Charleroi road, through Genappe, directly on Mont St. Jean. It was about eleven o'clock, when the first battalion of the rifles, and the second light battalion of the German legion, the last of the infantry, left the ground: the riflemen, in passing through a splendid body of cavalry, not a man of whom they had seen during the battle, could not help indulging in some of their old peninsular jests about 'the followers of the army:' the cavalry however proved next day, that they could well atone for their involuntary absence.⁶

At nine o'clock, the duke of Wellington had received a letter from the brave Blucher, saying, that although defeated, he would be ready to take the field again as soon as his troops had been supplied with bread and cartridges. The duke's reply was, that he would accept a battle at Mont St. Jean, in front of the wood of Soignies, if he could rely on the support of two

⁶ United Service Journal, part ii. p. 450.

Prussian divisions : the old marshal instantly promised that he would bring up his whole force ; and on this assurance, the battle of Waterloo was fixed.

At half past twelve o'clock, Napoleon learned the real state of the British at Quatre-Bras : he then determined to join Ney with the main body of his army, leaving marshal Grouchy to follow the Prussians with two corps, amounting to 31,000 men ; scarcely equal to Bulow's division, which had not yet been in action. The British retreat was conducted with perfect order and regularity ; unmolested, except in one instance at Genappe, where a narrow bridge over the Dyle can only be approached through a confined street : here an assault was made on our rear by the advanced guard of the French cavalry, who in turn were attacked by the rear squadron of the seventh hussars : the charge failed ; but the French, in attempting to follow up their success, were assailed by the blues, and driven back on the head of their advancing column. The rain now began to descend in torrents, and continued while the troops took up their intended position, which all did not reach before eight o'clock : it was still later before Napoleon arrived at the heights of La Belle Alliance ; and his army did not come up in full force till the morning of the eighteenth.

When the duke of Wellington had made his arrangements for the night, he established his head-quarters at a small inn in the village of Waterloo, about a mile in the rear of his position : the army bivouacked on the summit of a gentle declivity mostly covered with standing corn : the French occupied a ridge nearly opposite ; and Napoleon's head-quarters were at Planchenoit, a little village in the rear also of his line. Thus arranged, both the commanders and their respective armies waited anxiously for the morn, which was to decide the fate of the French empire : the night, as if the very elements intended to mock the approaching storm of human passions, was dreadfully tempestuous ; while furious gusts of wind, heavy bursts of rain, vivid lightning, and echoing peals of thunder, occasioned many a heart to quail, which stood unmoved the shock of mortal conflict.

The dawn of the ever-memorable eighteenth of June broke slowly and gloomily forth from heavy masses of watery clouds which overhung the horizon : the rain still descended ; and many began to think that there would be no battle that day : it gradually ceased, however, as the morning advanced ; and by nine o'clock the weather was clear enough to show the British legions in position to their exulting foe, whose chief could not

suppress his satisfaction ; but exclaimed ‘ while he stretched out his arm with a motion as if to grasp his prey, *Je les tiens donc ces Anglois.*’⁷ The battle ground of Waterloo is an open plain, with undulations ; one of the crests of which was occupied by the British position,⁸ while the French were similarly posted on the opposite side of the valley, which varies from about 500 to 800 yards in breadth : through the plain, at right angles to both positions, runs the great road to Charleroi, which separated the right of the French, and the left of the British, from their respective armies : it is also traversed by a road leading to Nivelles, which branches off near Waterloo. To the left of the Charleroi road stood Picton’s division, supported by Sir John Lambert’s brigade, posted close to Mont St. Jean ; and in a hollow, a little farther to the left, was Ponsonby’s brigade of heavy cavalry ; the extreme left being formed by two brigades of light cavalry on the Wavre road under generals Vandeleur and Sir Hussey Vivian.

On the right of the Charleroi road rested the left of the third division under Sir Charles Alten, with the household brigade of cavalry under lord Edward Somerset, and some Belgian troops in a second line. To the right of the third division stood the first, under general Cook, composed intirely of British guards, and supported by a body of Nassau troops ; the light cavalry in their rear being the brigades of Dorenburg and Arentschild. To the right of general Cook, the position took a sweep to the front, and then suddenly fell back to the right : the extreme right, composed of Dutch troops under general Chassé, rested on Brain-la-leude, the second British division, under Sir Henry Clinton, and colonel Mitchell’s brigades of the fourth division, occupying the intermediate space : in their rear were Sir Colquhoun Grant’s brigade of cavalry, two squadrons of Brunswick lancers, together with Brunswick infantry in second line ; about 15,000 men were left at Halle, twelve miles distant ; but for what purpose never has been explained ; and these remained stationary the whole day.

An old-fashioned country house with its garden and orchards, then called the Chateau Gomont, but now Hugomont,⁹ was

⁷ Paul’s Letters to his Kinsfolk, p. 130.

⁸ In the description of the British position, and many of the details of this battle, great use has been made of the excellent article in the United Service Journal already alluded to.

⁹ It acquired this name from the mistake of foreigners ; the natives laying a stress on the last syllable of Chateau, and pronouncing the first syllable of Gomont short.

situated in the hollow, and fronting the junction of Cook and Clinton's divisions: it was occupied by the light companies of the guards under lord Saltoun, one battalion of Nassau, and one of Brunswickers, the whole commanded by colonel Macdonnell of Glengarry: these were supported by the second brigade of guards under major-general Byng, placed on a rising ground in the rear, so as to preserve a power of re-inforcing the garrison. In front of Picton's right and Alten's left, about half-way across the valley, was a little farm-house called La Haye Sainte, occupied by the second light battalion of the German Legion; and two hamlets in front of the extreme left, called La Haye and Papellote, were held by some Belgian troops under the young prince of Saxe Weimar. Behind the whole position was the forest of Soignies, traversed by a broad road to Brussels, and various others branching into it: being free from underwood, and every where passable for men and horses, it secured an excellent retreat for the army in case of any serious reverse: those who thought otherwise, forgot the affair at Quatre-Bras, where not all the efforts of double numbers could dispossess the British guards of the wood of Bossu. Twelve miles to the left, but concealed by forests and rising ground, lay Wavre; whence the re-organised Prussian troops marched at daybreak, eager to take a share in the action; but the roads were so deep and miry, that even the officers sent forward with intelligence could not, without great difficulty, make their way to the British army.

Great part of the French had passed the night in the village of Genappe: when they were brought into line, the chief command on the left was given to Jerome Buonaparte, and that on the right to count Lobau; while counts Reille and d'Erlon commanded in the centre: Soult and Ney acted as lieutenant-generals to the emperor, whose principal station during the engagement was at a public house called La Belle Alliance, in advance of the British line, and adjoining the Charleroi road. Accounts respecting the number of forces engaged on each side differ so much, that it is difficult to arrive at the truth: the writer to whom this narrative is so much indebted, estimates the number in our line at 50,000, the lowest hitherto given;¹⁰ and of these only one half were British, and soldiers of the German legion: '210 guns,' he says, 'were in

¹⁰ Estimating the whole of the duke's force at 70,000, he deducts 4000 lost at Quatre-Bras, 15,000 useless at Halle, and 1000 for stragglers and casualties.

position and reserve, together with a rocket brigade, which, for reasons not known, only threw a few of its missiles toward the end of the battle.' To Napoleon he assigns 75,000 men brought into the field, 31,000 having been detached under Grouchy in pursuit of the Prussians, 20,000 lost in the battles of Ligny and Quatre-Bras, and 4000 left about Fleurus in charge of the wounded: Grouchy's corps was accompanied by 108 pieces of artillery; so that 240 guns were reserved for the grand army. The French troops not only exceeded their opponents in numerical strength, but were the *élite* of the national forces: fearful odds against an army composed like that of the duke of Wellington! 'One of our best and bravest officers,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'confessed to me a momentary sinking of the heart, when, looking round him, he considered how small was the part of our force properly belonging to Great Britain, and the many disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances under which our own soldiers labored. A slight incident reassured him; when an aide-de-camp galloped up, and having delivered his instructions, cautioned the battalion of guards along which he rode, to reserve their fire till the enemy were within a short distance. 'Never mind us,' answered a veteran guardsman from the ranks; 'never mind us, sir; we know our duty.' From that moment, my gallant friend said, he knew that the hearts of the men were in the right trim; and though they might leave their bodies on the spot, they would never forfeit their honor.'

While the allied troops were preparing their breakfast, they were called to desist by a cry of, 'Stand to your arms; the French are moving;' when a large body of cuirassiers swept across the plain with an intent to embarrass the British as they deployed: a momentary alarm and confusion arose; but the life guards instantly made a dash at the enemy, who did not wait the shock; and in no part of the day was the inferiority of the cuirassiers to our heavy cavalry more decided, except at the termination of the battle.

The sun was now high in the heaven; and Napoleon delayed his attack, though every hour was of infinite advantage to his antagonists, since it brought the Prussians so much nearer to their position; nor was Blucher a man to tarry on his march. About half an hour however before noon, when the French artillery was in position, a gun fired from a British battery on the right gave the first signal of battle: the shot, it is said, was aimed with ominous precision; making a momentary gap in one of three columns, which prince Jerome had directed

against the little grove, or orchard of Hugomont, and the British position on the Nivelles road : but it arrested not the comrades of the fallen ; for many a lofty head was to be laid low before those brave men would shrink from the fight. When they reached the verge of the grove, a discharge of musketry and artillery on both sides commenced ; the intire post became enveloped in smoke ; and the fire augmenting, like thickening peals of thunder, soon extended itself to the extremities of each line, making the very earth shake for miles around the field : 12,000 men were gradually brought against this important post, the occupation of which by the enemy's artillery would have enabled them to advance into the very centre of our line. The attack of the first division being repelled, the second, under general Foy, rushed on with such impetuosity, that the orchard was abandoned, and the chateau itself must have been carried, but for the intrepid courage of the detachment of guards to which its defence was entrusted : a French officer, followed by a few men, made his way into the court-yard ; but all were there bayoneted ; while the Spanish general, Don Miguel Alava, one of the true heroes of the peninsula, who served in this battle on the duke of Wellington's staff, exerted himself, but in vain, to rally the scattered sharp-shooters of Nassau. Owing to the rout of these troops, and consequent occupation of the orchard by the French, Hugomont was, during great part of the engagement, an invested post, indebted for its security to deep ditches and surrounding fences, but still more to the stout hearts of a brave garrison, who fired through hedges and holes made in the walls ; and who kept it in spite of musketry, cannon balls, shells, and flames, till they issued from it triumphantly in the hour of vengeance. Being however thus insulated, the French cavalry were enabled to move round the chateau in great force for an attack on the British right wing. The light troops in advance were driven in by their furious charge ; and the foreign cavalry, who ought to have supported them, gave way on all sides : the first force that offered a steady resistance, was the black Brunswick infantry, anxious to avenge the death of their gallant prince : these troops were drawn up in squares, much like the alternate figures on a chessboard ; so that a squadron, pushing between any two, would not only have to sustain their fire on its flanks, but also a discharge in front, from the square that was in the rear. The furious onset of the French troopers seemed as if it would have overwhelmed the small but compact masses opposed to it ; but when the Brunswickers opened

their steady fire, the advantage possessed by men so disposed was quickly seen: the artillery also, which throughout this eventful day was served with such skill, alacrity, and precision, as never yet has been equalled on a battle-field, made dreadful gaps in the advancing squadrons, and strewed the plain with carcasses of men and horses: nothing however could damp the chivalrous ardor of the French, who still pressed onwards in defiance of all obstacles; or if they suspended their attacks, it was but to give opportunities for the artillery to act, which, being only 150 yards distant, directed its point-blank discharges against the almost solid squares. A general officer observed to Sir Walter Scott, that one shot struck down seven men of a square near which he was at the moment; the next was less deadly, for it only killed three:¹¹ yet under such a fire, and in full view of those clouds of cavalry, waiting like birds of prey to rush in through the slightest opening, did those gallant troops close up their files over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades; resuming with a stern composure that compact array of battle, in which lay the surest means of safety.

After these desperate efforts on the side of the Nivelles road had failed, the rage of battle slackened in this quarter; so that the British again opened a communication with Hugomont, and reinforced its garrison with a detachment of the guards under colonel Hepburn.

The fire of artillery then became furious along the whole line; but the force of the French attack was destined more particularly against the British right and centre: small parties of horsemen, suspected to be Prussians, had already been observed on the heights of St. Lambert, six miles distant from the French position; and an officer, with a letter announcing Bulow's progress toward the field, had also been intercepted: time therefore was becoming every moment more and more precious to the enemy. At one o'clock, a movement on the French right gave notice of preparation: it was Napoleon galloping toward La Belle Alliance, to direct an attack on the British line from that quarter; and soon afterwards, four contiguous columns of infantry, too close together to be conveniently deployed,¹² marched down the slope against Picton's division, with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* they were supported by two

¹¹ Paul's Letters, p. 154.

¹² This was the great and almost always fatal error of the French, when engaged with British troops.

smaller bodies of cavalry, and one of infantry, with thirty pieces of artillery; and the attack was led on by marshal Ney in person. On the left of these masses were some battalions that proceeded to assault La Haye Sainte; while on the French left of the Charleroi road, a large force, composed of Milhaud's cuirassiers, marched against the British centre. 'Thus,' says the intelligent writer before quoted, 'at one point of the line, infantry alone were sent to attack infantry, cavalry, and artillery, combined and unbroken; while at another part of the line, cavalry alone were sent on a similar errand!' On the present occasion, the troops advanced with their usual intrepidity: Perponchier's Belgian division fled at the first onset, few waiting even to discharge their muskets: the first battalion of our rifles, therefore, was obliged to give ground before the overwhelming torrent; but they did so fighting bravely, till they fell back on the main body of Picton's division.

The French columns were now marching close up to the hedge, through which Sir James Kempt's brigade impetuously rushed, and was received with a murderous volley: a frightful struggle then ensued, the English trusting solely to the bayonet, although the French fire had so thinned their ranks, that they were now fighting, each man against five or six antagonists: Picton therefore instantly ordered Pack's brigade to the charge, placing himself at its head, with an exhilarating 'hurrah!' which was enthusiastically returned by the troops. The attack now to be repelled, was, according to the duke of Wellington's despatch, one of the most serious made by the enemy during the day: Picton, who well knew the importance of his presence to ensure success, remained at the head of the line, looking along it, and waving on the men with his sword, when a ball pierced his temple; and the gallant leader of the 'fighting division' fell back on his horse: he was immediately placed on the ground; but all assistance was tendered in vain, for the noble spirit had fled. In the mean time, the wave of battle passed on, and the contending hosts met; while Picton's animating example had so inspired his troops, that nothing could resist their vigorous onset; and the French columns were thrown so much out of military order by the shock, that they were totally unable to resist the tempest about to burst on their devoted heads. It has been already observed, that Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry was posted in a hollow behind Picton's division: their commander now led them on to one of the best-timed charges ever made; for no sooner were the French columns staggered by the fire of our infantry,

than, passing through intervals in their line, and wheeling round their left, the royal dragoons, the Scotch Greys, and the Enniskillens, England, Scotland, and Ireland, in glorious rivalry, fell on the foe: the four shapeless columns, already broken into fragments, were crushed by this terrible onset; the ground was covered with killed and wounded; the artillery was all taken; hundreds ran wildly about the field, while the horsemen continued their furious career: many even fled to the British infantry, surrendered, and were preserved behind their ranks as at Vittoria; but 2000 men, with two eagles, were captured in a body. Unfortunately, this splendid cavalry, wild with success, pushed it too far, and rushed impetuously up to the level of the French line; but Napoleon, having perceived the rout of d'Erlon's squadrons, had galloped up to the spot; and now taking advantage of this rash advance, ordered a strong body of cuirassiers and lancers to attack the British horse: unable to resist this sudden and impetuous shock, they retreated before the French cavalry, under a galling fire of artillery and sharpshooters; when the gallant Sir William Ponsonby fell mortally wounded. In the furious charge, Sir John Elley, an officer eminently distinguished for personal intrepidity, was at one time surrounded by the enemy's cuirassiers; but being a tall and powerful man, completely master of his sword and horse, he cut his way out, leaving several of his assailants stretched on the ground, and marked with wounds indicating the unusual strength of arm that inflicted them. 'Indeed,' says Sir Walter Scott, 'if the ghastly evidences had not remained on the field, many of the blows dealt on this occasion would have seemed borrowed from the annals of knight-errantry; for several of the corpses exhibited heads cloven to the chine, or severed from the shoulders.' Among the privates who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one whose name, already known in the records of pugilistic fame, became now intitled to honorable notice in the historic annals of his country: this was Shaw, a corporal of the life guards, a man of large stature and uncommon prowess, who is reported to have slain or disabled a number of cuirassiers sufficient to have made out a list for one of Homer's heroes: he received innumerable wounds, though none of any great magnitude; and died of exhaustion during the night in pursuit of the enemy.¹³

The simultaneous attack made by the French cuirassiers on

¹³ An affecting account of his death is given in that interesting work, intitled 'Paris Revisited,' by Mr. John Scott, p. 150.

the British centre had no greater success than that against the right wing, though it was attended with comparatively little loss: they were warmly received with round shot and grape from Alten's batteries, as they advanced across the plain; but pressing onward to the slope of the position, they were there charged by lord Edward Somerset's household brigade, and repulsed after a sharp conflict hand to hand. During this time, overwhelming efforts were made by the enemy to gain the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, where they had a glimpse of success; for the Luneburg infantry, being seized with a panic, fled precipitately, and broke through the surrounding ranks with only a small loss; but the advancing cuirassiers overtook the helpless fugitives, and made terrible havoc of them, before they got under shelter: the second battalion of the German legion, however, stationed in the buildings, bravely maintained the post, and kept the whole body of assailants at bay, till the life guards, having repulsed the cuirassiers, fell on the infantry that surrounded the farm, and nearly exterminated the whole; when its former defenders returned to their station.

It was now about three o'clock, and the intire front of the British position was cleared of foes: time was flying, the Prussians were advancing, and not the slightest impression had been made on the allies by the French attacks: fresh numbers, however, were still ready to replace those that had been defeated: in the mean time, the fire of the artillery continued; its round shot ploughing up the ground on each side, or tearing away files from the close and serried ranks; while shells exploded in every direction. Half an hour had scarcely elapsed before the enemy was again discovered in motion; and a large force of cavalry descended into the plain, formed into four lines, cuirassiers, dragoons, lancers, and hussars: they showed no precipitation; but came on steadily, without being arrested for a moment by our artillery, or the flanking fire of musketry from La Haye Sainte, close to which the right of these new assailants passed. The cuirassiers first ascended the slope in gallant style, and the allied infantry instantly threw themselves into squares to receive them, within which, the artillerymen, having fired grape to the last, sought protection, and found it. The French, not perceiving the advantage of this simple arrangement, and thinking they had captured the guns, raised a shout of victory, which was caught up by their whole line; but it was a short-lived exultation: though the firm aspect of the squares did not at first arrest the advance of the horsemen, and many squadrons galloped forward to the charge, not in a single instance did

they preserve their order, or dare to rush on the bristling bayonets: opening out, and edging away from every volley, they sometimes even halted and turned before they received the British fire, when the iron shower rattled on the backs of their coats of mail: thus they flew from square to square, or rode from one side of the compact mass to another, receiving a fire from different squares as they passed, or from each face of the same: some halted, shouted, and flourished their sabres; others rode close up to the ranks; and many even cut at the bayonets with their swords, or fired their pistols at the officers: but in no instance was an effort made to break a square by a regular charge; not a single leader, daring as many of them were, set the gallant example of dashing boldly at the presented bayonet: but men who continued to brave the fiercest fire of musketry and artillery, shrunk from close contact with that British weapon. The few that fell by the fire of the squares was also a matter of great surprise: indeed, so many ill-directed charges could not have been made, if the destroying power of the opponents had not been inconsiderable. Nor were these contests quietly witnessed by the British cavalry: many partial, and several very gallant charges were made against the assailants, between the squares; and whenever the ridge was cleared for a moment, the incomparable artillerymen sprang to their guns, and the grape-shot rattled again among the hostile ranks: when the foe recovered the ground, the gunners sought their former shelter, but only to fly back to their post when the next opportunity occurred. Before four o'clock, the position was again clear of enemies, and the French troops, who had been assaulting La Haye Sainte, fell back amid the shouts of the exulting Germans: the battle however still raged about Hugomont, where general Cook was severely wounded; but Sir John Byng firmly maintained his position in the house and garden.

Not an inch of ground had yet been lost on the side of the allies; when general Dumond, who commanded the light cavalry despatched by the emperor to watch Bulow's motions, sent notice that 10,000 men, in full march toward Planchenoit, were about to place the French between two fires: decision now became necessary; and it has been thought that Napoleon ought to have retreated from the field under protection of his still numerous cavalry; but he determined differently. The sixth corps, under count Lobau, about 7000 strong, which had taken no share in the action, was directed to occupy a position in front of Planchenoit, and by aid of the strong ground be-

tween that village and St. Lambert, to arrest Bulow's progress : thus the French army, in its reduced state, was left to perform a task, to which, when complete, it would hardly have been found equal. From the advance of d'Erlon's corps on one side, and the cavalry on the other, it became evident that the small post of La Haye Sainte could not much longer hold out : accordingly, five battalions were sent to a useless contest with a few hundred men cooped up in the little farm ; and then Fortune, being so gallantly wooed, deigned to bestow one melancholy smile on Napoleon's arms : for a full hour the Germans bravely maintained this post ; but their ammunition being wholly spent, they were obliged reluctantly to abandon it. The French immediately endeavored to make the most of their conquest, and by that mode of warfare in which they peculiarly excelled ; for vast swarms of sharp-shooters, collecting about the buildings, from which they made frequent onsets, poured a destructive fire on our decreasing line : bands of *tirailleurs* advanced so close to the front of the third division, that the fifth battalion of the German legion was ordered to charge them, when the enemy instantly fled ; but a body of French cuirassiers close behind, attacked the Germans before they could form a square, and made dreadful havoc in their ranks : attempting however to follow up their success, the horsemen were received with a volley from the left of the third division, which occasioned them quickly to draw back : the third regiment of German hussars then advanced to avenge their countrymen, and the French formed to receive these new adversaries, when a short affair at sword's point ensued, without any material consequences : but an interesting instance of the many single combats which occurred during this memorable day was exhibited in full view of the British line, after the main parties had separated. A hussar on one side, and a cuirassier on the other, had been entangled among retiring foes, and, attempting to regain their respective corps, met in the plain : the hussar had lost his cap, and was bleeding from a wound in the head, yet he did not hesitate to attack his steel-clad adversary ; when it was soon seen that the strength of cavalry consists rather in good horsemanship and a skilful use of the sword, than in heavy defensive armor. The moment their swords crossed, the superiority of the hussar was visible ; and after a few wheels, a tremendous stroke on the face made the Frenchman reel in his saddle : all attempts to escape his more active antagonist were vain ; and a second blow stretched him on the ground, amid the cheers of

the Germans, who had remained anxious spectators of this trial of skill.

While destructive but indecisive conflicts were still going on at La Haye Sainte and Hugomont, Blucher, in person, had joined Bulow's corps : though suffering from the effects of his fall, that gallant old general had caused himself to be lifted on horseback at break of day, and immediately directed his troops toward Mont St. Jean : three corps had proceeded some distance on their way ; and a fourth, under Thielman, was already on its march as a rear-guard, when some light cavalry, appointed to watch the French motions, announced the advance of Grouchy's army toward Wavre. Thielman was instantly ordered to counter-march and defend the passage of the Dyle : there he was left to act according to circumstances, but he was not to look for any reinforcement till the principal contest should be decided. The march of the Prussian army was a series of difficulties : the ground was saturated with rain ; the rivulets had become torrents ; deep pools of water constantly obliged the men to break their files ; and the forest roads resembled water-courses, through which they had to wade ; while the artillery frequently sank axle-deep into the mud, and had to be worked out by the fatigued soldiers. ' We shall never get on,' was their oft-repeated cry. ' But we must get on,' replied the old general, who was to be seen at every point of this long and tedious line of march : ' I have given my word to Wellington, and you surely will not make me break it ! Courage, children, courage, for a few hours longer, and victory will be ours.'

The thunder of artillery had been heard for hours in the direction of Mont St. Jean, and officers were constantly arriving with intelligence of the deadly strife going on ; but the Prussian troops were still struggling in their impracticable roads, with a certainty of being placed in the most imminent danger if the enemy should prove victorious. At three o'clock news arrived that might have shook the firmest nerves : Thielman was attacked by Grouchy's overwhelming force. Blucher, however, whose moral courage always rose with such untoward events, merely replied ;—' Tell him to do his best : the campaign of Belgium must be decided at Mont St. Jean, not at Wavre.' The Prussians had been expected to join at one o'clock : it was past four, when two brigades of Bulow's division, with their reserve of cavalry, cleared the passes of St. Lambert, and crossed the swollen rivulet of Lasnes. With this small force, Blucher instantly proceeded

to attack Lobau's corps, which had been thrown back to cover the right of the French army, in a strong position extending from the heights above Papellote and La Haye, to the woods of Vinere and Hubermont before Planchenoit : thence issued the first sound of the Prussian guns ; though little attention was paid to it by the allies, until the attack became more decisive. In the mean time, the cannonade on both sides was kept up with great spirit ; and lord Hill sent two brigades from the right to replace those in the British centre, which had been rendered unserviceable : men were falling fast at every point ; and the confusion in the rear, from runaways, wounded men, and dismounted dragoons, was terrific : the Hanoverian hussars of Cumberland were carried off the field by their colonel in direct violation of orders ; and Perponchier's Belgian division, routed at the first onset by d'Erlon's corps, never appeared again as a collected body ; but not a single British battalion was shaken for a moment : confusion was behind them, and destruction raged in their front ; but the soldiers engaged, stood firm as the rocks of their native coast amid the raging billows : the battle however no longer depended on military skill, but was rather a trial of the power of endurance : this trial was in favor of those who heard the guns of their allies, and knew that the hours of their enemy were numbered.

About five o'clock, Milhaud's cuirassiers, with the light cavalry of the guard, returned to the ridge ; the cuirassiers of Valmy were sent to support them, and the reserve of the guard is said to have followed without orders. The charges, or rather feints of charges, against the squares were repeated ; but with no more determination or success than attended them in the previous part of the contest : from the cavalry the allied infantry scarcely lost a man in these attacks ; but the intimacy of the soldiers with their steel-clad visitors is said to have increased so much toward the end of the day, that they began to recognise their faces : in all the confidence of their panoply, the French horsemen walked their steeds round the ranks, as if to search for a chasm, while the musket-balls rattled against their armor : at length, general orders were given to fire at the horses ; and when they fell, the riders generally surrendered themselves, and were received into a square until they could be sent to the rear ; a generosity, which was very ill requited this day ; for the French spared few lives which it was in their power to take ; and the instances of atrocious conduct toward their wounded prisoners were so numerous, that the old revo-

lutionary spirit seemed to be revived, and murder was again the sport of fiends in the human shape. No brigade was more subject to the visits of the cuirassiers than that of general Halket: unable to break through his squares by force, a French colonel attempted to effect this object by a *ruse-de-guerre*, and lowered his sword to the British general. Several of the officers called out; 'Sir, they surrender.'—'Stand fast, and fire,' was the reply of the experienced commander, who justly suspected an offer made by a strong body of cavalry, which had the option of retreat into the open plain; and the promptly-obeyed order sent the cuirassiers about, as usual, with a laugh of derision from those whom they meant to cut in pieces. This gallant brigade was honored also with several visits from the illustrious commander in chief: in one of these he inquired, 'how they were?' and received an answer, implying that two-thirds of their number were down, and the rest so exhausted, that permission to retire for a short time was earnestly requested, while some of the foreign corps who had not suffered took their place in the line: general Halket however was told, that the issue of the battle depended on the unflinching front of the British troops; and that even a change of place, under present circumstances, was extremely hazardous. 'Enough, my lord,' was the impressive reply: 'we stand here till the last man falls.'

Wherever our squares were exposed to the fire of artillery, the loss was naturally very heavy: on one or two points, they lay under the discharge of musketry; and the twenty-seventh regiment was nearly destroyed in such a situation; but the soldiers in the most undaunted manner stepped instantly into the places where their comrades fell: fortunately the enemy did not possess, or neglected the art of combining infantry and cavalry attacks, or the result might have proved very disastrous.

While the contest was thus carried on along the line, the French drove the Belgian troops from Papellote and La Haye, and fancied that they had thus cut off the Prussians from the English; but their possession of these hamlets did not retard the advance of the former a single moment: yet was there a strong necessity for checking them; since they were now rapidly pressing on the French right; and the shot from their artillery already crossed the Charleroi road, to the great terror of the enemy's rear. The concluding scene of this sanguinary drama was indeed fast approaching: the battle was once more reduced to skirmishes round La Haye Sainte and Hugomont, with a distant cannonade from the lines; and during this comparative

state of inaction, several of our corps moved toward their left, in order to concentrate the allied force; while the Brunswick troops were sent to support the third division, and some of Chassé's Dutch regiments came forward into the front line. Every nerve was now to be strained for the defence of a point, over which the fiercest storm of battle was about to burst for the last time.

The Prussians were already forming in large masses, and the thunder of their artillery was constantly augmenting: the British remained unshaken; the day was drawing to a close; and the time for half measures was gone by. Napoleon had still materials for opposing his new foes, and achieving a retreat, by aid of his old guard, 8000 strong, which had not yet taken any part in the conflict; but it must have been with the certainty of an attack next day by the combined British and Prussian armies: besides, he had no resources to which he could look forward, except a reunion with Grouchy; while the Russian armies were advancing on the Rhine by forced marches, and the republicans of Paris were agitating schemes against his authority. He saw that his fate was to be decided on the ensanguined field where he now stood: a desperate effort for victory, before the Prussians could act effectually, might possibly drive the English from their position; and he determined to venture on the experiment. About seven o'clock, movements along the French position gave signs, that this last and decisive attack, which the circumstances of the battle rendered inevitable, was about to be made on the British centre; and as general Ziethen's troops were close at hand, the two brigades of cavalry, under Vivian and Vandeleur, which had been judiciously stationed on the extreme left, were brought up to the threatened point. While the first of these, consisting of three fine unbroken regiments, advanced along the ridge, the second, which had been partially engaged, moved in the hollow to the right, where the rest of the cavalry were assembled: in the mean time, the British infantry were drawn up in files four-deep;—'a sacrifice,' it is affirmed, 'of half their strength, made for no object whatever:'¹⁴ a wrong tribute to the ill-deserved fame of French columns.

Napoleon's old and young guards were now formed into columns of attack, under his own eye, near the bottom of the declivity of La Belle Alliance: each column was composed of three battalions; one in line, supported on its flanks by the

¹⁴ United Service Journal, August, 1834, p. 471.

others in close order ; two of which advanced, with nearly equal front, and artillery in the intervals, while a third was in the rear : count Reille was ordered to form the remains of his corps also into columns, and advance on the left of the guards ; while d'Erlon supported them with similar masses, which were to issue from behind La Haye Sainte : but failure was impressed on the very formation of this enterprise ; for as all the previous attacks of cavalry had been unaided by infantry, this of the imperial guards was destitute of cavalry : the whole was placed under the command of the intrepid Ney ; who, as well as the soldiers, was made to believe that the fire of Ziethen's guns proceeded from the army of Grouchy, which had fallen on the rear of the Prussians. The renewed roar of artillery announced the approach of this tempest ; and loud acclamations greeted the emperor, as he led the guards in person to the brow of the hill at La Belle Alliance, and, pointing with his hand to the British position, exclaimed, 'There lies the road to Brussels.' The first columns that came up, beat back the foreign troops on the left of the third division, and fell impetuously on the remnant of Halket's gallant brigade, whence a close and continued roll of musketry spread rapidly toward the British right, as the old guard prolonged the attack of d'Erlon's corps : these veterans were supported by a well-sustained fire of round and grape-shot from their own artillery ; to avoid which, their opponents had been ordered to lie down on the ground, near the summit of their position : but no sooner did the advancing columns approach toward point-blank distance, than the laconic address of the great commander was heard :—'Up, guards, and at them !' and so instantaneously was this order, which had been most anxiously expected, now obeyed, that it seemed as if the very earth had suddenly cast forth an armed host. There must have been an indescribable terror in the uprising of those undaunted troops on the spot where all had laid down with a resolution to conquer or to die ! but the imperial grenadiers had little time to contemplate the scene ; for a close discharge of musketry mowed down their front ranks, and so galled the whole column, that it halted to return the fire : this act however instantly fixed its doom ; for the fifty-second and seventy-first regiments, with some companies of the ninety-fifth rifles, who had suffered but little previous loss, had been stationed in a hollow to the right of the guards, where the position took a bend to the front : these troops had only to advance with right shoulders forward, in order to come directly on the French flank ; which movement was ordered,

and promptly executed. The whole world did not contain braver men than those of the old guard; but none of earthly mould could sustain the murderous fire with which they were now assailed in front and flank: their heroic leader, Ney, had his horse shot under him; yet he continued at the head of his troops on foot, exhorting them to retrieve the honor of the day: but the old peninsula shout of victory, rising from the light division as it pressed the shattered ranks of its opponents, was caught up, and echoed through the British line: this was immediately succeeded by a general order to advance; and the enemy fled in consternation from the British bayonet. At the very time when the light brigade was advancing against the leading columns of the old guard, Sir Hussey Vivian descended into the plain, and defeating a body of cavalry that obstructed his advance, proceeded instantly to attack the cuirassiers posted between the protecting squares of the enemy's rear-guard: the charge was boldly made, as it had been judiciously planned; the French cavalry were quickly routed; and the British infantry, having free scope to act, followed up their success in complete security. Just as the allied army deployed into line for the last decisive charge, the setting sun, which during the day had been hid by lurid clouds, streamed out in a red glare of light; and his latest rays fell on a vast mass of fugitives, rushing over the field in irremediable confusion, and trampling down those who still endeavored to keep their ranks. The outrageous cruelties perpetrated by the French soldiers during the late series of engagements were now dreadfully repaid: after the British infantry had wholly shattered the opposing corps, the cavalry took up the pursuit as far as their tired horses would carry them; and at this time, the gallant earl of Uxbridge, whose white plumes and gorgeous steed, as he rapidly galloped to different positions, strongly brought the image of Murat to the minds of the French soldiers, received a shot which deprived him of his leg. While, on the right, the British horsemen were thus seen driving the rout along; on the left, as far as the eye could reach, hill and plain were covered with Prussian troops; thousands of whom had only arrived in time to witness the overthrow of a military force, which buried in its fall the mighty empire raised by its own valor: but if ever the character of avengers became an army, it was now; for what nation had ever suffered such insults and injuries from another, as Prussia had received from France? Moving in oblique lines, the pursuing armies came into contact with each other, on the heights so lately occupied by the French. At La

Belle Alliance, Wellington and Blucher met, and briefly congratulated each other on a victory far more disastrous to the conquered than that of Austerlitz; and it was then agreed, that the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh, should follow up the success which had been so gloriously gained by their allies.

Toward the end of the battle, Napoleon, with Soult, Drouet, Bertrand, Gourgaud, and some others, were sitting on their horses, under cover of one of their few remaining squares, when the duke of Dalmatia pointed out the approach of the British cavalry, who were then not many hundred yards from the spot. It is said, that the emperor made some exclamation about dying on the field of battle; but if he uttered the words, he was content with the heroism of his speech; for Soult, observing in reply, 'that the enemy were fortunate enough already;' seized his horse's bridle, and turning its head to the rear, left Napoleon to his own instinct, for escape from the sabres of the British troopers. At Genappe, an effort was made by the fugitives, to obstruct the pursuit, by barricading the bridge and streets; but the Prussians, forcing them in a moment, obtained possession of Buonaparte's carriage, which he had just left to mount on horseback: disorganisation and terror were now at their height; the French were driven from place to place without resistance, and in some instances slaughtered like sheep, leaving a large number of prisoners, and 150 pieces of artillery in the hands of their pursuers: 150 had been already taken by the British on the field of battle. Our own loss was very great: 100 officers slain, 500 wounded, and 15,000 privates in one list or the other, was the high price paid for this glorious and decisive victory: on the French side, scarcely half Napoleon's army was ever again collected under its standards. The emperor recrossed the Sambre on the morning of the nineteenth; and continuing his route to Laon, made instant provision for the safety of that great arsenal: having then expedited orders for the corps of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the west, to converge toward the capital by forced marches, he left Soult to collect the scattered wreck of Waterloo.

On his arrival at Paris, his first act was to convene a council of state; in which he proposed 'the elevation of himself to a temporary dictatorship, in order that he might repair the national disasters at the head of the army.' His counsellors, however, knowing what was the temper of the two chambers, preserved a solemn silence, until he urged them to speak freely:

Carnot then advised that the tocsin of the old republic should be sounded, the country declared in danger, all Frenchmen called on to arm against a foreign foe, and the capital placed in a state of siege; that in the last extremity, they should retire behind the Loire, reorganise the army, and raise the whole population: this advice, however, was over-ruled by the suggestions of Fouché, who was in close correspondence with the allied commanders. In the mean time, the two chambers had hastily met; and being aware of what was projected by the emperor, passed a resolution, that any attempt to dissolve them should be considered an act of high treason: it was also voted, that four of the ministers should be summoned, to explain their master's views and intentions. Napoleon, alarmed at this usurpation of authority, sent his brother Lucien, a man of great energy and talent, with the ministers; and the day passed in altercations, irritating to both parties concerned: at length, perceiving that he had wholly lost the confidence of the national representatives, and that nothing remained for him but to trample on the chambers or to abdicate his throne, he chose the latter alternative; remarking, 'that the French, like the degenerate race of the lower empire, were disputing, while the enemy was at their gates.'

On the morning of the twenty-second, the emperor's act of abdication in favor of his son, dictated by himself, and written by his brother Lucien, was presented to the chambers, who accepted it generally, without any recognition of his successor: a provisional government was then appointed by ballot, consisting of Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette; and commissioners also were nominated, for the purpose of carrying proposals of peace to the allied armies. The last act of Napoleon's public life was a farewell address to his army; after which, he retired to Malmaison.

The allies had now come to a determination of entering into a treaty only at the gates of Paris; and on the twenty-first of June, their armies passed the boundaries of France. From Malplaquet, the duke of Wellington addressed a proclamation to the people, announcing that he had entered the country, not as their enemy, but to oppose the usurper, the foe of the human race, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce: during his march, the strictest military discipline was enforced. On the twenty-third, he sent a detachment against Cambray, which was taken, without much loss, by escalade; and Louis XVIII. soon removed from Ghent to that city. The march of the allied armies was now one continued triumph;

Avesnes, Peronne, and other towns, either opening their gates, or being reduced with only a slight resistance: Soult, indeed, who had collected 4000 men in the vicinity of Laon, was there joined by the army under Grouchy and Vandamme, which had with difficulty effected its retreat from Wavre: at Villars Coteret, a contest took place between these forces and the Prussians; when the latter, having gained the advantage, immediately marched on Paris. The British crossed the Oise on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth, at which time Blucher passed the Seine at St. Germain; their plan being to invest the capital on two sides: the heights about the city were strongly fortified; while 40,000 or 50,000 regular troops, beside the national guards and Parisian volunteers, were engaged in its defence, all under the command of marshal Davoust. Two deputations had been previously sent to the head-quarters of the allies, to propose a suspension of arms; but the only answer returned was, that 'none would be granted while Napoleon was in Paris, and his person free:' he was at this time at Malmaison; and having come to a resolution of seeking an asylum in America, had made application for two frigates, then lying at Rochfort, to convey him thither: the request however did not suit the views of Fouché and the provisional government; who put off his departure under various pretences, and at length set over him a guard under the orders of general Becker. As the Prussians approached, the fire of Napoleon's character was rekindled, and he persuaded Becker to convey a note to the government, offering to resume the command of the French army, and take advantage of Blucher's rash advance: 'Tell them,' he said, 'that I will crush the Prussians, and then retire.' The offer was conveyed to the members of government, and Carnot advised them to accept it: but Fouché's opinion prevailed; and this intriguer, being alarmed at the emperor's contiguity to the French troops, gave the necessary orders, by which he was permitted to leave the country: on the evening therefore of the twenty-ninth, Napoleon, having taken a last farewell of his mother, sister, and some other relatives, hastened toward Rochfort. Blucher did not establish himself on the left of the Seine without considerable opposition, though he ultimately succeeded: a communication having been then opened between the blockading armies, proposals were made for a cessation of hostilities; and a capitulation was concluded on the third of July at St. Cloud, between the two allied commanders on the one side, and the prince of Eckmuhl on the other. By its stipulations, the French troops were to commence their

march next day toward the Loire, and within three days to evacuate the capital; the fortified posts and barriers of which were to be placed in the hands of the allied forces, while the national guards and municipal gendarmerie undertook the internal duty of the city: the eleventh article of this convention stipulated, that all public property, except that relating to war, should be respected; and the twelfth guaranteed the rights and liberties of all persons remaining in the metropolis, who were not to be called to account, either for the situations which they might have held, or for their conduct and political opinions. In 1814, Louis XVIII. had been placed on the throne conformably with the expressed wishes of the nation; he was now to be reinstated solely by a foreign force; for that long contest, which Madame de Stael designated as a conflict 'between a man and a system, each equally hostile to liberty,' was completely terminated: the circumstances, however, under which this monarch resumed his crown, were such, as necessarily produced irritation among the larger portion of his subjects: being intirely in the hands of foreign forces, and scarcely more than nominal sovereign of a country distracted by party and humiliated by defeat, it is not surprising that his measures were at first fluctuating, or that his councils underwent frequent change: a system however of moderation generally adopted, together with an integrity of purpose and an extensive knowlege of mankind, enabled him to counteract the machinations of discontent, and to ward off from his own head that storm which burst over his tyrannical, priest-ridden successor. The principal source of irritation lay in the army, which it became necessary to dissolve, as a dangerous instrument in the hands of faction, and to replace it by a new force collected on national principles: the discontent however thus carried into society by the disbanded troops, was greatly augmented by what has been sometimes deemed a severe act of resumption on the part of the allies: the galleries of the Louvre were now stripped of those trophies of victory, which, while they diffused over the nation a taste for the fine arts, tended also to keep alive that spirit of conquest, which it was so desirable to extinguish: restitution therefore of these precious articles was demanded; for, it was said, whether they had been ceded in lieu of contributions, or for the purpose of obtaining more favorable terms of peace, they were the actual fruits of victory, and were now as fairly reclaimed as they had been previously extorted from their possessors: nor could any allegation have been more just and equitable, if public property

had not been guarantied to France by the treaty just concluded: it is true indeed, that mention was made of these works of art by the French commissioners, who requested that they might be particularly specified in the eleventh article; and that this application was rejected by the allied commanders: still the exception did not appear, as it ought to have appeared, in the convention; and the 'moral lesson,' which was intended to be impressed on the French people, lost a great part of its effect.

Many and anxious conferences took place, before the powers engaged in congress announced the conditions on which France was permitted to retain her station among the European nations: on the twentieth of November however the second treaty of Paris was concluded; when an adjustment of boundaries was made by a cession to the allies of Philipville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with their environs, as far as the Lauter; also of that part of Savoy in Italy, which had been kept by France. The fortress of Huningen was to be demolished; the northern and eastern frontier of France, with eighteen fortresses, to be occupied by 150,000 troops of the allied powers, at the cost of the French government, for a period not exceeding five years; while, as a remuneration for the expenses of the war, France was called on to pay, at fixed periods, a sum of seven hundred millions of francs, not including however the claims of individuals; a prohibition of the slave-trade was also inserted, though the insertion has hitherto produced very little effect.

An aristocracy of the leading powers was now diplomatically formed in the restored system of Europe; and in order to give the highest possible sanction to this policy, religion was invoked to its aid: hence the origin of that Holy Alliance, for the preservation of peace and legitimacy, avowedly on the principles of christianity, which was concluded by the three monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and gradually joined by the other European states; England not acceding formally to its stipulations, though she acknowledged its leading principles. Our ministers indeed, when the nature of this phenomenon became a subject of discussion in parliament, affected to treat it lightly, as if it had been rather a speculative fancy of well-meaning visionaries than a practical plan of designing statesmen: but there were not wanting those who viewed it in a very different light; apprehending serious consequences from a combination of military and despotic chiefs, for the purpose of maintaining a state of things undefined to

the world, and this at the very moment of their victory over the last remains of the French revolution. Whether any of these apprehensions have been realised, we shall have future opportunities of discovering: certainly, as professor Heeren has observed, 'one great difficulty in the way of its beneficial operation was, the defective nature of popular rights on the continent, which leaves several of the most important questions undetermined; such, for instance, as that touching the propriety of intermeddling with the affairs of foreign states:'¹⁵ besides, the conduct of Russia regarding Poland, and that of Austria towards her Italian provinces, justly cast a shadow of suspicion on the sincerity of the principal confederates: it was not however in the power of any such union to repress the great antagonist principle of popular freedom, whose struggles soon made themselves felt in the social system; while the condition of many continental states, such as Turkey, Spain, and Naples, gave frequent opportunities for the exertion of its powers: the condition of Great Britain, which had risen to such an unparalleled height of grandeur by the steady cultivation of that principle, seemed a sanction to others in imitating her example; and as if this were not sufficient excitement, the state of America was ever present to the heated imagination of its votaries; one half of which country proclaimed the complete triumph of republicanism, while the other was engaged in breaking the manacles of an ancient despotism with every prospect of ultimate success.

France, being placed under military occupation, could not exert much influence at present on the continental union; while the experiment of a new constitution was naturally calculated to soothe for a time the troubled spirit of its volatile population. Louis XVIII, under a vivid recollection of recent events, seemed disposed to adopt a popular government: the sagacious Talleyrand was made minister for foreign affairs; baron Louis being placed at the head of the finance department: marshals St. Cyr and Macdonald were promoted respectively to the ministry of war and the command of the army; while Fouché, who had openly avowed a traitorous correspondence with the duke of Wellington, was rewarded with the ministry of police: the disposition however with which this cabinet began its administration, soon experienced a change, which was indicated by the issue of two ordinances: the first of these declared that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted

¹⁵ vol. ii. p. 441.

seats in the chamber summoned by Napoleon Buonaparte, had forfeited their dignity ; the second exhibited the names of many officers, who, having taken part in the late acts of the usurper, were ordered to be arrested and tried before a court-martial ; while others were directed to withdraw into the interior, and wait there until their fate should be determined on. The duc de Richelieu now succeeded Talleyrand as first minister, des Cazes was appointed to the police department, and Barbé-Marbois to that of justice. Labedoyère, the first officer of high rank who had joined Napoleon after his return from Elba, was tried, condemned, and executed ; when Ney and Lavallette were selected as the next victims, and received a similar sentence of condemnation. The arrest and trial of Ney, the ‘bravest of the brave,’ gave rise to much animated discussion both in France and other countries : few could be found, except those that were blinded by political prejudices, who did not acknowledge the extraordinary perfidy of the man ; though many ascribed it to his irresolute character rather than to deliberate baseness : but it was argued by the friends of the marshal, that the terms of the convention were so full and explicit, as to signify a general amnesty ; since they expressly stated that ‘all individuals resident in Paris at the time of its capitulation, should enjoy their rights and liberties, without being called to account for the situations they might have held, or for their *conduct* and *political opinions* :’ a different view however was taken of the question by the partisans of government, who proceeded on a distinction of military and political conduct ; and when the duc de Richelieu, addressing the chamber of peers, demanded the condemnation of the accused ‘in the name of Europe,’ Ney, who rested his defence on the twelfth article of the capitulation, naturally appealed to the ministers of the four great powers to confirm his view of the subject. The opinion of the duke of Wellington appears to have been a guide to the rest ; and the answer sent by his grace to a note addressed to him by the marshal was couched in the following terms :—‘that the capitulation of Paris related exclusively to its military occupation ; and that the object of the twelfth article was to prevent any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any person in Paris, on account of their conduct or political opinions ; but it never was, or could be intended to prevent, either the then existing French government, or any French government which might succeed it, from acting in this respect as it might think proper.’

No rightly constituted mind can notice, without feelings of

indignation, the calumnious reflections that have been cast on the duke of Wellington by political adversaries, on account of this interpretation: as if the conqueror of Napoleon could have been influenced by any jealousy or pique towards an individual, immeasurably his inferior in all the qualifications of a general, except that of personal courage! No one can have studied the character and conduct of our illustrious commander, without perceiving that a plain, straightforward honesty is one of its distinguishing characteristics. The interpretation which he gave to the twelfth article, was undoubtedly that which he had in his own mind, when the treaty was drawn up; probably also, the same view was taken of it by the other high contracting party: still it is much to be lamented that his grace did not accompany his interpretation with a recommendation, or rather a demand, that the life of Ney should be spared. The terms of that article are as general as it is possible to conceive: ¹⁶ it was the height of injustice therefore in the French government to limit them by a particular restriction, for the purpose of taking away the life of an accused person: both the exception of military conduct, and the restriction of indemnity to the military occupation of the capital, ought to have been specified in the article; otherwise it was merely a trap to catch unwary victims; and as it was the inadvertency of the military diplomatists which threw this power into the hands of government, their conduct would hardly have amounted to an act of common generosity, if they had taken on themselves the blame of an involuntary error, and requested the correction of it by a general amnesty: that such an appeal would have been successful, there can be no doubt; for the desire of revenge must have given way to a sense of dependence, as well as of obligation. The odium which this transaction cast on the English character in Paris was seasonably counteracted by the humane interference of Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and captain Hutchinson in the affair of Lavallette: condemned by the same policy which sacrificed Ney,¹⁷ and liberated from prison the evening before his execution by the devotion of his heroic wife,

¹⁶ The words are 'conduct and political opinions: ' the commonest understanding will at once perceive how different the meaning of this article would have been, if it had stood thus: 'political conduct and opinions.' Can any one suppose, that in this case, Ney would have remained in Paris?

¹⁷ It is by no means intended to vindicate the conduct of Ney and Lavallette: such perfidy was worthy of exemplary punishment if it could have been equitably administered.

he was long concealed from the emissaries of police by these generous strangers; and finally conducted over the frontiers, through a series of difficulties and dangers which it would be hard to match even in the works of fiction. The name of the duke of Dalmatia had been included in the list of those that were placed under strict surveillance, until the chambers should decide whether they were to be sent out of the country or given over to the tribunals. Soult published a pamphlet in his defence; but the attempt was useless; for a decree of January, 1817, ordered him to retire beyond the Rhine. A different fate awaited Murat, who once held so distinguished a rank among the French marshals. In a rash attempt to recover his kingdom, he was taken prisoner, and tried by a court-martial; which, having condemned him to death by one of his own laws, ordered sentence to be put into immediate execution. He behaved on the occasion with his usual intrepidity, and refused to have his eyes bandaged: then placing on his breast a miniature of his wife, he received six balls through his head, and died instantaneously. His character as a man was strongly at variance with those principles which Napoleon required from his dependent sovereigns. 'Your first duty is to the emperor, your second to your subjects,' was the despot's stern injunction; but Murat, like his brother-in-law, the ejected king of Holland, had a regard to his coronation oath, and strove to reverse the order of these duties: he not only conferred many benefits on his people, but was extremely generous and hospitable in his intercourse with strangers; so that under his government, Naples rose from a state of wretched barbarism to a respectable rank among the European nations.

But where, during these transactions, was the chief cause of so much slaughter in the field and diplomacy in the cabinet? Napoleon, as already has been stated, arrived at Rochfort, with the intention of seeking an asylum in the United States; but, when about to set sail, he found the port strictly blockaded. As the allied commanders had refused a safe conduct for him to the provisional government, and the English cruisers could not be eluded, he determined to place himself voluntarily in the hands of their commodore, throw himself on the mercy of England, and sue for life and liberty to that people whom he had so often denounced as enemies of the human race: accordingly, after some preliminary negotiations with captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, he went off with his suite in a brig, and was put on board that ship on the fifteenth of July. From the cabin of a British man-of-war, he addressed a letter to the

prince regent, declaring 'that he came, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the nation, and to place himself under the protection of its laws:' as his case however bore very little comparison with that of the Athenian, his letter was disregarded; and when the *Bellerophon* arrived at Torbay, and subsequently at Plymouth Sound, he was not permitted to land on the British shores. In the mean time, multitudes arrived from all quarters to obtain a sight of this mighty conqueror, reduced to seek protection under the only European flag which had never been lowered before him; nor can it be denied that a considerable degree of interest and pity was excited for the fate of one who had fallen from so high a pinnacle of fame, when the illustrious captive was transferred to the *Northumberland*, which set sail for St. Helena on the eighth of August. Against this sentence of banishment Napoleon entered an energetic protest, denying that he was a prisoner; since he had surrendered himself to the protection of the British laws, which he had never violated; and of the British government, to whose jurisdiction he was not amenable. The disposal of his person by the government of that day, is an open question, which has been, and will be, variously judged; condemned by the fearlessly generous, vindicated by the unscrupulously prudent: but it never can be seriously maintained, that the punishment or mortification of Napoleon was contemplated; but rather the security and peace of Europe: it would have been no credit to the character of those statesmen by whom his destination was fixed, if they had granted to him either a title or a residence which might have encouraged hope in the adherents of one who had already occasioned such a profuse expenditure of blood and treasure: but whatever may be thought respecting the question of justice or injustice, that does not rest with Great Britain alone; for before the battle of Waterloo, it was stipulated between the allied powers, that if Napoleon should be captured, he was to be considered as the common prisoner of the confederates, not of that power by whose troops he might be taken; that he should not be confined in prison, or suffered to reside in the European or continental dominions of any one of those powers; but be sent to St. Helena, and there remain, with only such restrictions as might be judged necessary to prevent his escape.

The subsequent period of the ex-emperor's life was spent in a manner little calculated to secure the respect either of his contemporaries or of posterity: it was sedulously reported that he had to endure many studied indignities; but there is no just cause to credit such assertions. Not only were all his wants

carefully supplied, but the conveniences and luxuries of life were abundantly procured for him: his fancies were humored in every particular consistent with security; and even the sentinels posted round his residence were studiously kept out of view: but his days were spent in quarrelling with Sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island; and in venting the bitterest reproaches against him to all who were admitted into his presence: not a day passed without a long list of complaints; and the preparation of memorials, petitions, and remonstrances seemed to be adopted as a method of passing the time. Sir Hudson persisted in showing him attention and courtesy, till his civilities were thrown back with insult; and if a degree of moroseness was afterwards perceptible in the manner of that officer, it could be no matter of surprise to those who knew how deeply he was impressed with the responsibility of his station, and what indefatigable plotters of mischief were contained in the suite of his prisoner. That the last scene of Buonaparte's life should have been embittered with vexation and chagrin, can be no subject of wonder: the restless energies of his mind, which, while he was seated on a throne, precipitated him into projects fraught with ruin, were now left unemployed, except, like the Promethean vulture, to torture their possessor: he, whose vanity, fed by success, placed him in his own estimation high above all human beings;—he, who lived only for effect; and, like the Pellæan conqueror, would not have been satisfied with one world, after he had exhausted that world's applause;—was now cut off, not only from the scenes of his former glory, but almost from the expression of human sympathy. Weighed down by mental suffering, and laboring under the afflicting malady of cancer in the stomach, he dragged out a few wretched years in the hopeless seclusion of his distant prison, and expired on the fifth of May, 1821.

The duke of Wellington's despatches from the field of Waterloo reached London on the twenty-first of June, while parliament was still sitting: its thanks, and a public monument to that illustrious commander and his army, were voted on the following day; when lord Lansdowne, with peculiar felicity, observed, 'that the splendor and importance of the victory almost stifled every feeling of individual sorrow; making the fate of the brave who fell, to be regarded as that of men, *quos nefas est lugere*.' There remained no fresh distinctions to be conferred on the duke of Wellington; but the sum of £200,000 was voted to build a mansion worthy of Napoleon's conqueror; the earl of Uxbridge was raised a step in the peerage by the title of marquis of Anglesea; and as the regent,

in the beginning of the year, had greatly extended the order of the Bath¹⁸ to reward our military and naval officers at the conclusion of the war, its decorations were liberally conferred on the heroes of Waterloo: all the regiments which had shared in the glories of that field were permitted to inscribe the word 'Waterloo' on their colors: to every private a silver medal was presented; each being allowed to reckon that day as two years' service in the account of time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged. A very important benefit was extended, on this occasion, to the whole army, by a regulation, which enacted, that henceforward the pension granted for wounds should rise with the rank of the officer receiving it; so that he who was maimed while an ensign, would, if he became a general, be entitled to a general's pension for his injury.

¹⁸ It was divided into three classes; that of seventy-two grand crosses, 180 knights commanders, and an unlimited number of companions of the order.

CHAP. LVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1805-1823.

Affairs of India—Lord Cornwallis's second administration—Government of Sir George Barlow—Administration of lord Minto—Government of the marquis of Hastings—Consummation of the British power in India; efforts made for the melioration of its people, &c.—Statistical account of Great Britain during the latter period of the war, &c.—Difficulties encountered in the transition from a state of war to peace, &c.

THE affairs of India, from which our attention has been so long detained by the overwhelming interest of European transactions, must be now briefly considered. The marquis Cornwallis arrived at Fort William in July, 1805, as the successor of lord Wellesley; but he came with a mind enfeebled by the infirmities of age, and influenced by doctrines which the timid and sordid spirit of a mercantile government had impressed on his attention. His main object was to relieve the distress now pervading all branches of the public service, by reducing the expenditure, and putting an end to contests which bore heavily on the company's finances; while his first acts exhibited a determination to reverse the policy of his predecessor, and, if possible, restore affairs to the posture in which he had left them in 1793: he strongly avowed his disapprobation of all subsidiary alliances; and so great was his anxiety to finish the war with Holkar, and accommodate disputes with Sindia, that if the power of those subtle chiefs, and of the rajah of Berar, had not been already broken, a long succession of hostilities would probably have ensued.

His lordship now proposed a restoration to Holkar of all his conquered territories: with regard to Sindia, he expressed a readiness to overlook the outrage committed by him on the British residency; and to resign Gwalior, with all its dependencies. In his disapprobation of alliances contracted with the native princes, he directed that the rajah of Jyepoor, who had not fulfilled the conditions of his agreement, should be told, it

was considered as dissolved; also, to induce the rajahs of Bhurtpoor, Macherry, and Boondée, to renounce our alliance, he proposed to bribe them with portions of the territory conquered from Sindia, south of Delhi, and west of the Jumna: this river he resolved to make the south-western boundary of the company's possessions in that quarter; though, as lord Lake intimated, it never can become a barrier of sufficient importance; being fordable, in many places, nearly throughout the year, above its junction with the Chumbul. Instructions, in conformity with these sentiments, were sent to lord Lake on the nineteenth of September; but that able officer, apprised of the governor's pacific views and altered policy, had so managed matters with Sindia, as to procure the resident's release; and had submitted to that chieftain a plan for the adjustment of all differences. In consequence of this favorable state of affairs, and his own anticipation of evil from the abandonment of our connexion with the native powers, while the northern provinces were re-occupied by the Mahrattas, his lordship delayed acting on the instructions of the governor-general; to whom he sent a strong representation of the reasons by which he was actuated: but before this arrived, lord Cornwallis was rendered incapable of attending to public business by a mortal illness, which carried him off on the fifth of October. 'However questionable,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'the policy of some of the last acts of this nobleman may be, or whatever speculations may be made on the causes which produced such an apparent deviation from the high and unyielding spirit of his former administration; no man can doubt the exalted purity of the motives which led him to revisit India.'

On the death of lord Cornwallis, Sir George Barlow, senior member of the council, succeeded, by a provisional appointment, to the rank and duties of governor-general: he lost no time in replying to the representations of lord Lake, stating his determination to pursue the policy of his predecessor, by abandoning all connexion with the petty states of the country, and generally with the territories westward of the Jumna. It was extremely fortunate for British interests, that so enlightened a man as lord Lake was found at this period in the high and responsible office of commander-in-chief, when the governors of India were ordered to regulate their proceedings by the narrow, selfish system of non-interference.

In the mean time, Holkar, at the head of a large body of cavalry, had proceeded to ravage the company's territories; and lord Lake, having posted strong bodies of troops to intercept

him on his return, had set out about the middle of October in pursuit of that marauder: his operations, however, did not obstruct arrangements with Sindia, which were concluded by a new treaty on the twenty-third of November. Of the former convention, every article was to remain in force, unless it should be altered by the present arrangement: Gwalior, with great part of Gohud, was ceded to Sindia; and the Chumbul was to be a boundary between the two territories; but as this line of demarcation was advantageous to the company, he was recompensed by an annual pension of four lacs of rupees, as well as by jaghirs given to his wife and daughter. Sindia resigned the districts of Dholpoor, Barree, and Raj-kerrah, (which were bestowed afterwards on the rana of Gohud) together with all claim to tribute from the rajah of Boondee. The British government engaged to enter into no treaties with the rana of Oudepoor, the rajahs of Joudpoor and Kotah, or any other tributaries of Sindia; also not to interfere with his conquests from the Holkar family between the Taptee and the Chumbul.

Holkar, reduced to extremities by lord Lake's able dispositions, at length sent agents to sue for peace; and from the instructions given to the commander-in-chief, he found no difficulty in obtaining it: a treaty therefore was signed, on the twenty-fourth of December, by which he renounced his rights to every place on the northern side of the Chumbul, with all claims on Bundelcund, and the British government: he also engaged to retain no Europeans in his service; while the British government agreed not to interfere with his possessions or dependencies south of the Chumbul; and to restore his forts and territories on the southern side of the Taptee and Godavery. Agreeably, however, to the system of policy now adopted, Sir George Barlow made alterations in both these treaties: with regard to Sindia, he explained away all obligation to protect the petty states north of the Chumbul, from Kotah to the Jumna; while to Holkar he restored Tonk-Rampoorah, and the territory north of the Boondee hills; abandoning to his fate the rajah of Boondee, who had most honorably maintained his alliance with the British government: and this he did in opposition to the urgent remonstrances of the commander-in-chief, who not only pointed out the importance of the district, as commanding a principal pass into our northern provinces; but stated in the strongest terms our obligations to protect the rajah from his inveterate foe, whose vindictive rage had been excited to the highest pitch by the great assistance which he had afforded to the British. No plea of

honor, justice, or humanity had in this instance the slightest weight with the governor-general ; but he remained fixed in his resolution ; nay, he even gave directions for dissolving our alliance with the rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpoor : but lord Lake, apprehensive that, if such an intention only were known, all the powers of destruction would be again let loose on that portion of India, represented his views of the probable consequences so forcibly, that Sir George, though he declared that his sentiments remained unchanged, consented to delay for a time the execution of his purpose. Fortunately, this weak man, who undertook to counteract the grand political system of a Wellesley, abstained from applying to the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad those principles of non-interference which he was so rashly pursuing in other directions ; and in July, 1807, lord Minto arrived, as the regularly-appointed successor of the late marquis Cornwallis. The state in which he found the country soon convinced him, that a system of neutral policy would be a descent from that height to which we had advanced ; leading either to our expulsion from the country, or to the necessity of regaining our former position at an immense sacrifice of life and treasure.

When Holkar returned to his own dominions, his oppressive conduct raised a mutiny among his troops ; at the head of whom, his nephew, Khundee Row, was forcibly placed, and declared his legal representative : Holkar, however, having contrived to exact a large sum from the rajah of Jyepoor, employed it in appeasing the greater part of his army ; and having thus settled the disturbances, he put his nephew to death : in the excitement of his ferocious disposition, he commanded his brother also to be privately murdered ; and afterwards proceeded in such a course of brutal degradation, as brought on a total derangement of intellect ; so that his maniacal extravagances, in 1808, rendered it necessary to place him under personal restraint. This chieftain, as Sir John Malcolm observes, ‘ was formed by nature to command a horde of plunderers : master of the art of cajoling those who approached him, flattery, mirth, and wit were alternately used to put his chiefs and troops into good humor, when want of pay or other causes rendered them discontented or mutinous ; but any attempts at intimidation on their part never failed to rouse a spirit which made the boldest tremble. His licentious passions brooked no control ; and the sacrifice of the honor of the females of their family was no unusual road with courtiers to his favor. His favorite drink was cherry and raspberry brandy ; and the shops of Bombay

were drained of these and other strong liquors for his supply : but his ruling passion was power on any terms ; to attain and preserve which all means were welcomed ; nor could the most unworthy favorite, of whom he had several, suggest a breach of faith or deed of atrocity, that he would not commit, to relieve the distress or forward the object of the moment. From the hour he commenced his career in central India, the work of desolation began ; his object, often declared, being to restore the Mahratta supremacy, by a revival of the ancient predatory system.'

When the British usurpation of power in India is made a subject of vituperation, let it be remembered, that to annihilate such a system, and to rescue the miserable inhabitants from a curse to which for ages they had been subject, was the grand policy of the marquis Wellesley. As we proceed even in the present brief annals of the Indian government, we shall have occasion to see how impossible it was to control those predatory chieftains, and to prevent the fertile regions of the East from becoming scenes of misery and desolation, except by retaining a control over every branch of their administration, as well as a military occupation of their country.

When Holkar's state of mind rendered it necessary to place him in confinement, the government was administered under a regency, controlled by Ameer Khan, the most powerful of his generals ; but Balaram Seit, the dewan, ostensibly took the management of affairs, acting under Toolsay Bhye, Holkar's favorite mistress, a woman as profligate and vindictive as himself : the army however was now reduced to a state of insubordination ; and on the departure of Ameer Khan, to profit by a civil war in Jyepoor and Joudpoor, an adventurer, named Dherma Kower, seized the mistress with her favorite, and usurped the government till the return of Ameer Khan with his army of Patans and Pindarries ;¹⁹ by whom, after fifteen days

¹⁹ Two extraordinary tribes of plunderers in India : the chief difference between them lay in this ; that the Patans were associated for the sake of invading such states as they could overpower or intimidate ; while the object of the Pindarries was indiscriminate and universal plunder : the Patans in fact were military mercenaries ; the Pindarries, cowardly and desperate banditti : against both the British government was long obliged to keep up an armed force, and to be constantly on the alert. The chief strength of the Pindarries lay in their being intangible : if pursued, the best horsemen rode off with the booty, and would perform a journey of from sixty to one hundred miles in two

of hard fighting, he was overcome and put to death : Ameer then returned to his ravages in Rajpootana, leaving Holkar's dominions in a state of incurable anarchy. The expedients to which Toolsay Bhye and her minister then had recourse, for the support of the court and army, were of the most horrible description : several of the principal officers were appointed and sent with detachments to plunder the country : these chiefs became answerable to the troops for arrears due, paid a certain sum in advance to the treasury, and gave large presents to the ministers ; in return for which, they received a license to plunder at discretion, without regard even to the rights of neighboring states ; while the atrocities which they committed in their predatory excursions were scarcely exceeded by those of the Pindarries themselves. ' Every where,' says Sir John Malcolm, ' the same scene of oppression presented itself : open villages and towns were sacked, and walled towns were battered until they paid contributions : ' and when these marauders departed, loaded with spoil and satiated with cruelty, ' the Bheels, a tribe who are born plunderers, encouraged by the absence of all regular rule, would leave their mountain-fastnesses to seek booty in the open plains : then the villagers themselves, driven to despair, became freebooters, in order to indemnify themselves for their losses by the pillage of their neighbors.' Such was the state of Hindostan, before that system of British policy was perfected, which has at length enabled the inhabitants of this interesting country to sit in security under the shade of their own vines and fig-trees. On the death of Holkar, in 1811, Mulhar Row, one of his sons, was placed on the musnud ; but no change took place in the administrative government, though disturbances occurred from the factions of Sindia and Ameer Khan : all was terror and confusion, till the British armies, in 1817, advanced toward central India.

Sindia's territory was not much less disturbed than that of Holkar : his military establishment far exceeded his financial resources ; and to quiet his troops, he also was obliged to send

days, over rocks and hills impassable to regular cavalry. They have been known to march 500 miles in one fortnight. Terror and dismay reigned in the country which they visited ; where the population fled in all directions, from villages in flames, and from the horrid tortures to which the wretched inhabitants were put, to make them discover their wealth. While they continued their ravages, marauders of all descriptions joined them to profit by their presence.

them out on predatory excursions ; but several of them found employment in subduing refractory zemindars and tributary rajahs. On the death of Ambajee, in 1810, Sindia proceeded to reduce the territory in Gohud, held by his family ; and having established his camp at Gwalior, continued to make that place his head-quarters.

The state of affairs at Nagpoor, under Raghojee Bhonselah, partook of the confusion prevalent in the other Mahratta districts ; except that, his troops being inferior, his country was still more exposed to the attacks of freebooters. Invited by these circumstances, Ameer Khan, in 1809, under some pretended claim of the Holkar family, carried his ravages into Berar : the rajah had not solicited British aid ; but the governor-general could not see with indifference Ameer's army, enlarged as it was by a numerous tribe of Pindarries, encamped on the Nerbuddah, and ready to overwhelm the Nagpoor territory : the troops therefore were put in motion under colonel Close ; and lord Minto wrote to Ameer Khan, requiring him to withdraw his troops : that chieftain however in reply denied the governor's right of interference ; threatening even the British territory with invasion, in case of any hostile movement : colonel Close therefore advanced, and occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, whose power might have been easily overthrown : but the governor's moral courage now failed ; he became afraid of the financial consequences of his proceedings, and the consequent disapprobation of directors at home : accordingly he retracted the instructions first given to colonel Close, and directed that officer to confine his exertions to the immediate security of the rajah's dominions. Thus the great freebooter escaped with an unbroken army, the savage instrument of future conquest and oppression : a treaty however was set on foot with Ragojee Bhonselah for the protection of his dominions by the permanent aid of a British force ; but before it could be concluded, lord Minto had withdrawn his troops for an expedition against Java, the success of which was in great measure due to that prompt decision and energy, with which his lordship took on himself the responsibility of the enterprise.

As the advance of colonel Close had checked the audacity of the freebooters, so his retreat became a signal for their increased licentiousness. They now overran Berar, and burned one quarter of the rajah's capital : a party in 1812 even went so far as to violate the British territory of Mirzapore, whence they carried off an immense booty ; so that it soon became evident

that energetic measures must be taken to put them down ; and though lord Minto was reluctant to involve the company in a fresh war, yet he left his sentiments regarding its necessity on record, and confirmed them by a report of the ablest political officers then employed in the East. This document, transmitted to England, operated strongly in altering the views of those who had the supreme direction of Indian affairs, and in preparing the way for that brilliant administration which distinguished his lordship's successor.

No material change took place, at this period, in the relations of the British government with that of the peishwa ; but the encroachments of Runjeet Singh, rajah of Lahore, led to the decisive step of taking the Seik chiefs, between the Jumna and the Sutlej, under British protection. The weak and miserable policy of Sir George Barlow, by withdrawing that protection, had tempted Runjeet Singh to extend his conquests ; but he was now compelled to desist from farther aggression, and bound by treaty to maintain, on the left bank of the Sutlej, a force no larger than was required for the internal management of his own districts.

In 1808 the alarm of approaching hostilities on the part of the French was renewed, when it became known that an envoy had been sent by Napoleon to the shah of Persia : to counteract his designs, the governor-general despatched Sir John Malcolm as his representative, who proceeded as far as Busheer ; but finding the French influence predominant, and not being allowed to proceed to Teheran, he refused to negotiate with a provincial governor, and returned to Calcutta. In the mean time, the king's government at home had sent out Sir Harford Jones as an accredited ambassador to the shah ; and he, on his arrival in Persia, thinking himself at liberty to refuse all recognition of orders from India, proceeded to Teheran, in direct opposition to the wishes and commands of the Bengal government : circumstances in the mean time had changed ; and Sir Harford found no difficulty in concluding a defensive alliance with the shah, on the condition of our granting him a subsidy to support the disastrous contest in which he was engaged with Russia. The governor-general however, not without reason, protested against these proceedings of the British government and its envoy, as degrading and impolitic ; leading the Persians to believe that a difference of interests subsisted between the king's government and that of the company.

The same alarm of French invasion suggested a mission to the court of Caubul, which was soon followed by a treaty of

alliance; whence a knowledge of the affairs of Afghanistan was acquired, which, according to Sir John Malcolm's opinion, was essential to the success of any future measure relative to the most vulnerable portion of our Eastern empire. Some time afterwards, the Goorkalese mountaineers attracted notice by their frequent and bold incursions into the provinces of Goorukpoor and Sarun. Such excesses compelled lord Minto to address the court of Nepaul in strong and decided terms; but the resignation of this virtuous and able statesman left to his more energetic successor the duty of checking the inroads of a proud and warlike people, whose territory it becomes necessary to describe.

The great Himalayan range of mountains, which forms the northern boundary of India, is skirted by a magnificent forest composed chiefly of the sâl tree,²⁰ and nearly two days' journey in breadth: between this and Hindostan is an open district, called the *Turaee*, of a rich soil, and valuable for its fine pastures; abounding in the wild elephant, the rhinoceros, and the buffalo, which animals find shelter in the deep recesses of the adjoining forest: but the insalubrity of the climate prevents the establishment of any large towns on this tract; and the population is for the most part migratory, retiring to the hills at the approach of the unhealthy season. From time immemorial, the country within the hills, and on the borders, had been divided among petty rajahs; while the forest, with the *Turaee*, remained a natural and constant object of contention: a chieftain, possessing fastnesses on the hills, could always enforce contributions by incursions, from which he retreated to his strongholds; and every rajah of the hills had a portion of the forest and low country attached to his territory, which he was constantly endeavoring to extend in a sort of border warfare: thus feuds were transmitted from father to son, as was formerly the case in the Scottish highlands. When the rajahs of the plains became subject to the Mahometan yoke, those of the hills retained their ancient independence; and such was the state of the frontier, till the low countries fell under the British dominion; when the hills were gradually overrun by the Goorkalese, and consolidated by them into one empire. The British, after the extinction of the Mogul sovereignty, left the low rajahs in the enjoyment of their territories, on payment of a fixed land-tax; but the Goorkalese, as each hill chieftain fell before them, exterminated the family, taking up the contests

²⁰ The *Shorea robusta*, very useful for ship-building.

and claims of those whom they had so treated : this brought them into contact with the zemindars under British protection, who generally had no alternative but to surrender the object in dispute ; for unless the encroachment was outrageous indeed, how could the unfortunate zemindar expect to interest the highest authorities in his dispute ? especially as the government was no great loser by the usurpation, and inclined to look on the Goorkalese in the light of well-disposed neighbors, whom it was advisable to conciliate. Some time, however, before the period which we are now contemplating, this people became so emboldened by the supineness of the British government, that their aggressions attracted the notice of lord Minto ; when the Goorkalese commandant of Palpa, Umur Singh Thappa, replied to a remonstrance made by the governor-general, that he had a distinct right to all the territory which he had taken. Attempts were made in 1812 and the following year to adjust the dispute by negociation ; but the Nepaulese commissioners showed no disposition to recede from their claims ; and in this state were affairs found by lord Hastings, when he commenced his brilliant administration. That illustrious governor, and worthy successor of lord Wellesley, arrived at Calcutta in October, 1813 ; when almost the first object that engaged his attention was the dispute with the Nepaulese government. The reply to lord Minto's letter, who had demanded restitution of two invaded districts, distinctly asserted the right of that government to both : amicable negotiations however were still tried, but in vain ; a military force therefore was sent into the disputed territories, and placed under the management of civil officers ; but no sooner were the troops withdrawn, than an attack was made by the Goorkalese, who slew eighteen persons, wounded six more, and put the superior local officer to death with circumstances of great barbarity. After this, another attack was made on one of our outposts, which occasioned a farther loss of life : still a formal declaration of war was withheld, that persons engaged in commerce might have an opportunity to withdraw their capital, and the Goorkalese rajah to disclaim his outrages. Instead, however, of pursuing this line of conduct, he boldly avowed and justified them ; while he caused active military preparations to be made along the whole Nepaulese frontier ; an extent of about 600 miles. War was declared at Lucknow on the first of November, 1814.

At this time the rajah was in his minority, and the powers of government were exercised by the family of Thappa. Bheem

Sein Thappa, who assumed the title of general, had the chief management of affairs in the capital: his brother, Umur Singh, having been long at the head of a great army, had pushed his conquests so far west of the Gograh, and acquired so vast a power, that the national sentiments of his troops, or his own patriotism, alone prevented him from asserting his independence: he now occupied a line of posts round Irkee and Balaspoor, including the strong fortresses of Ramgurh and Maloun. A long debate is said to have occupied the Goorkalese warriors on the question of peace or war with the British government; and some in the council were apprehensive of the result: 'We have hitherto,' said they, 'been hunting deer; but if we engage in this contest, we must prepare to fight tigers.' The advocates for war insisted principally on the strength of the hill country, which not even Alexander had been able to subdue; and allusions derogatory to the English were made to their defeats at Bhurtpoor: Bheem Sein took this view of the question; and his opinion prevailed.

Lord Hastings resolved to act offensively against the whole line of the enemy's frontier, from the Sutlej to the Koosee: accordingly, the army was formed into four divisions: the first, of 6000 men, at Dinapoor, under general Marley, was intended to push on to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul; while the second, of 3000, under general S. Wood, at Benares, should proceed to Palpa: the third, at Meerut, under general Gillespie, was to gain the post of Nahn, and then sweep on toward the Sutlej; but the last, consisting of less than 3000, under general Ochterlony, was destined to advance from Loodeana against the strong posts held by Umur Singh Thappa, in the hilly country of the Sutlej, and eventually to co-operate with the third division: beyond the Koosee eastward, major Latter was stationed, with 2000 men, to defend the Poorneah frontier, and endeavor to act with the rajah of Sikkim. Such were the dispositions made for the most arduous campaign in which the British government had yet been engaged.

Major-general Gillespie was the first to penetrate the enemy's frontier, by seizing the Keree pass leading into Doon, and advancing to Dehra, the principal town of the valley: about five miles farther is the fort of Kalunga, crowning an isolated hill about 500 feet in height, where Bhulbudder Singh, nephew of Umur, had stationed himself with 600 men. A summons of surrender was sent to this chief about midnight; but he tore in pieces the letter, saying, it was not customary

to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours : however, he sent his *salaam* to the British *sirdar*, with an assurance that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp. Misled in some degree by false information, general Gillespie sent forward a detachment to take the fort by assault ; but this was found impracticable ; and when he advanced with his whole army, he was repulsed with great loss : he then headed a second assault in person, but fell from a shot, while he was in the act of cheering his men ; and his aide-de-camp also was killed by his side. Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command now devolved, led off the troops to Dehra, until a battering train arrived from Delhi : by means of this, a breach was effected, but in vain were the men exhorted to storm it ; and a retreat was sounded from a petty fortress, which had already cost the assailants more lives than the intire number of its garrison. Recourse was now had to bombardment ; a measure which ought to have been adopted in the first instance : this succeeded ; and Bhulbudder, after resisting his antagonists until the whole area of the fortress was like a slaughter-house, retired secretly with about seventy men, the remainder of his troops. The command of the third division was now given to general Martindell ; who, after driving the enemy from the town of Nahn, engaged their army in a very disadvantageous position among the heights that surround the fortress of Pythuk ; and having suffered a complete defeat, was obliged to intrench himself at Nahn. Neither were the operations of the first and second divisions more successful ; so that a very unfavorable opinion of the British arms was spreading in the country, until the conduct of general Ochterlony restored their lustre : this able commander, who was opposed to Umur Singh in person, formed, from the first, a just estimate of his opponent's character, and the difficulties of his own enterprise : advancing therefore with great caution, he resolved to leave nothing to hazard ; but made a road for his artillery, after much labor, and sat down with a heavy battering train before the fort of Nalagurh, on the first of November : he had breached the wall, when the garrison surrendered on the sixth, and capitulated also for a strong stockade on the same ridge, called Talagurh : but Umur Singh came down the same day, and took a position on the higher ridge of Ramgurh, one of the Himalayan ranges ; each of which, as it approximates to the centre of that stupendous chain, towers over those before it.

During November, the general was busily occupied in reconnoitring Umur Singh's position ; and the intelligence

which he received of the failures of the second division made him doubly cautious: accordingly, he waited for a reinforcement, and occupied his time in winning over the rajah of Plaseea, whose aid he obtained to make a road for his artillery: when his troops and guns came up, Umur Singh quickly changed his quarters, and moved off to the stronger post of Maloun, fearing lest it should be pre-occupied by the British. In the mean time, his ally, the rajah of Belaspoor, was brought to submission; though a considerable time was consumed in reducing the Ramgurh forts. By dint of great exertion, an eighteen-pounder was dragged up to the batteries: on the sixteenth of January, the face of the great fortress of Ramgurh was laid in ruins; and the garrison capitulated for itself, as well as for that of Joorjooree, to march out with the honors of war: but the two commanders, on joining Umur Singh, lost their ears and noses, as a punishment for not defending their posts to the last extremity. Taragurh and Chamba, on the same ridge, surrendered, like the others, to colonel Cooper; and thus the whole chain of forts in the rear being reduced and occupied, the colonel joined the main army to take part in the final operations against Maloun; and, by the fourteenth of April, every thing was prepared for a combined movement.

Umur Singh's position consisted of a line of fortified posts, on a lofty and difficult ridge projecting into the Sutlej, between the Gamba and Gumrorah: between its extreme points, at the stone forts of Maloun and Soorujgurh, were several intervening peaks, each crowned with a stockade, except two, called Rylapeak and Deothul; the former well situated for operations against Soorujgurh; the latter in the very heart of the Goorkalese position, and not more than 1000 yards from Maloun: of these the general determined to obtain possession; and Rylapeak was gained with no great difficulty, but the occupation of Deothul occasioned a very severe contest. During the night, every effort was made to throw up defences around it, from a conviction that the struggle for that post was yet to come: it was indeed a night of great anxiety to both parties; and Bukhtyar Thappa, Umur Singh's best officer, seeing the operations that were going forward, repaired to Maloun to urge on his master the necessity of dislodging the British from their position: 2000 of the choicest Goorkalese troops were accordingly selected for this desperate enterprise, under the command of Bukhtyar himself, who silently placed them in ambuscade, under cover of the darkness; and, at the dawn of day, the British position was assailed at once on all sides,

wherever it was accessible : the enemy came on with such fury, that several were bayoneted, or cut to pieces, within the works ; Umur Singh remaining on a height with the Goorkalese colors planted beside him ; while Bukhtyar was found every where, exciting the men, and moving with them to every fresh attack. The Goorkalese troops particularly aimed at obtaining possession of our guns ; and directed their fire with such effect, that, at one time, three officers and one man alone remained to serve them : but the British commandant at Rylapark, observing the desperate nature of the conflict, sent a reinforcement with ammunition ; and this arrived most opportunely : after the contest had continued two hours without intermission, the enemy began to slacken their efforts, and the British general resolved to assume the offensive : a charge therefore was made, in which Bukhtyar was slain, and the victory decided, after above 500 men had fallen. In the course of the day, the Goorkalese sent to request the body of their brave commander ; which, being found covered with wounds at the foot of the British defences, was wrapped in rich shawls, and sent by general Ochterlony with all possible marks of respect : his countrymen, by whom he was greatly beloved, loudly bewailed his loss, exclaiming, that ‘now indeed the blade of their sword was broken.’ He had assured Umur Singh that he would return victorious, or return no more : he had also given notice to his two wives to prepare for their *suttee*, as he had little hope of surviving ; and both are said to have sacrificed themselves next day on his funeral pile.

During the night, the Goorkalese withdrew from all their posts on the farther side of Deothul, including even Soorujgurh ; and general Ochterlony then drew his positions round Maloun. Early in May, a battery was raised against it ; when all his *sirdars* urged Umur Singh to make terms for himself, as well as for his son, at Jythuk ; but the old chief would not listen to them, declaring, that if they did but hold out till the rainy season, the British army must withdraw. Still farther discouragement was at this time produced among them, by tidings of the fall of Almorah, the capital of Kumaon ; which was the result of a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund, planned by lord Hastings as a diversion in that quarter. Considerable desertion now took place in the Goorkalese army, until Umur’s pertinacity in refusing to negotiate induced nearly all his officers, with their men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war ; leaving him with about 250 adherents, who alone remained faithful to their commander :

with these he shut himself up in the fortress, until the batteries were about to open on its walls; when, yielding to his fate, this proud chieftain, on the fifteenth of May, signed a capitulation, giving up his last stronghold, and resigning to the British government all the provinces from Kumaon westward to the Sutlej: in this treaty Runjoor Singh was included; and general Ochterlony had the honor of obtaining also the surrender of Jythuk. The greater part of this conquest was obtained by native troops alone, a few artillerymen being the only Europeans under the British standard: three battalions of the Goorkalese were immediately admitted into our service; and a provincial corps was raised for civil duties in Kumaon, which became a British province: the various chiefs also, who had been despoiled of their territories in the hill country, were restored, and wisely placed under our protection.

The court of Nepaul, however, was not yet sufficiently humbled to submit to the sacrifices which were thought necessary as conditions of peace. The *Turaee* was not the sole object of contention; but the reception of a British resident at their capital, appeared to these haughty mountaineers, who still retained a high opinion of the strength of their fortresses, to be a preliminary step to their actual subjection: such sentiments were encouraged by Umur Singh and his sons, who were among the warmest advocates for continuing the war: after some negociation therefore, the proposed treaty was finally rejected, and the passes in the first range of hills were secured with fortifications that were considered impregnable. Anticipating the probability of these events, lord Hastings had ordered Sir David Ochterlony to take the field in December 1815, at the head of about 20,000 effective troops, including three European regiments: by the tenth of February, that officer had crossed the forest, and established himself at the foot of the grand pass of the Bicheea Koh: the works indeed were found unassailable; but a secret route was discovered, by which the position was turned, and consequently abandoned. On the twenty-seventh, the British general reached the fine valley of the Raptee, and moved up to Mukwanpoor, where a skirmish of posts took place, which led to a general action: the Goorkalese forces were there utterly routed; the red seal was hastily affixed to the once rejected treaty; and an envoy despatched, who presented it kneeling before the general's *darbar*. The articles were now all punctually executed; but lord Hastings deemed it good policy to restore to the Goorkalese such parts of the *Turaee*, as were not required for the

purpose of making a straight line of frontier: that part adjoining Oude was given up to the vizir in payment of a loan of a crore of rupees, advanced by him in support of the war: a small portion also was assigned to the rajah of Sikkim, with whom a treaty of alliance and protection was signed in February, 1817.

The same year, in which this contest with the Nepaul government commenced, saw the British dominion established throughout Ceylon; where the government of the king of Kandia had become so tyrannical and oppressive, that many families emigrated from his dominions to the British portion of the island: some of the chiefs also solicited military aid to shake off a yoke which they found intolerable; and an act of brutal outrage, soon afterwards committed by this barbarian, gave an additional force to their appeal. Ten of the natives, resident in the British province of Kolumbo, were suddenly seized when trading within the Kandian frontiers, and so cruelly maimed by the king's order, that only three survived; and these were sent back in a state that excited universal indignation, their amputated members being suspended round their necks. A part of the nation having raised the standard of revolt, the progress of hostilities soon brought a body of armed royalists into the British territories, where they committed various excesses: this induced the governor to undertake an expedition against the capital, from which the tyrant fled at the approach of the British troops; and an ancient kingdom was conquered without the loss of a single life. In a grand council held by general Brownrig, the chiefs and provincial deputies concurred in the dethronement of the captive king, the exclusion of his family from the throne, and the grant of sovereignty to his Britannic majesty.

Although the ample employment which was afforded by the Nepaulese war had rendered it necessary for the supreme government to abstain from contests in other quarters, yet the rapidly increasing power of the predatory tribes of Pindarries and Patans,¹ rendered it evident that measures must soon be taken to suppress so enormous an evil. The chief leader of these savage plunderers was Ameer Khan, a Patan chief, who frequently associated a band of the more infamous and numerous Pindarries with his Patan mercenaries. The most effectual means of precaution against these marauders, seemed to be the establishment of a subsidiary alliance with Raghojee

¹ See note, p. 112.

Bhonselah ; but it was found impossible to conquer his repugnance to such a measure : the best alternative which then presented itself, was to extend the chain of positions from the British frontier in Bundelcund to the Nerbuddah, by means of a connexion with the states of Saugur and Bhopaul ; and this policy appeared the more advisable, in consequence of information respecting a pending negociation between the Bhonselah and Sindia, for an offensive and defensive alliance, one object of which was a combined attack on the Bhopaul territory ; the preparations for it being of so formidable a nature, that the destruction of the nabob seemed inevitable : so that he earnestly solicited an alliance with the British government. This potentate had peculiar claims on British gratitude ; and his request was acceded to ; not however without vehement remonstrances from Sindia, and some demonstrations of an attack on the troops assembled to support the negociations ; but ultimately his army was withdrawn. The peishwah and Raghojee Bhonselah pretended to acquiesce in this arrangement ; but the latter died in March 1816, and was succeeded by his son Pursajee, who soon fell into a state of idiotcy ; when his cousin, Appa Sahib, was chosen regent, though not without a violent opposition. In this unsettled state of his affairs, Appa Sahib voluntarily sought the subsidiary alliance which had been proposed to Raghojee ; and the British government readily agreed to furnish him with six battalions and a regiment of cavalry. This event, however, struck a serious blow against a secret confederacy carried on against the English among the Mahratta powers, of which the court of Poonah was the nucleus : it was not long, therefore, before Appa Sahib was persuaded to dissolve the alliance ; but being apprehensive, that if he cast aside British support during the lifetime of Pursajee, a party might be raised to endanger his own power, he caused the young rajah to be strangled in the night of the thirtieth of January, 1817 ; and then entered into an active, but secret correspondence with the peishwah.

In the mean time, during last year, the aggressions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased : it was ascertained that these freebooters had resolved to respect the territories of the Mahratta chieftains, and direct their ravages principally against the Nizam, and his allies the British. For twelve days they remained within the company's districts, committing every species of depredation and atrocity : during that short period, it was calculated that 339 villages were plundered, 182 individuals put to a cruel death, 505 severely wounded, and 3603 subjected

to various kinds of torture : no fewer than twenty-five women drowned themselves to escape pollution ; and the private loss of individuals was estimated at about £100,000 sterling.² To obviate the suspicions which such circumstances tended to excite, the peishwah sent a party of horse, to plunder in his own country, who gave themselves out to be Pindarries ; nor did the wretched inhabitants suffer less injury than might have been expected from those, of whom they were the nominal representatives. Sindia professed great anxiety to suppress them, but they were countenanced by his commanders ; and it was evident, that neither he nor Holkar were willing or able to restrain their dependents.

For ten years immediately following the treaty of Bassein, nothing had occurred to interrupt the harmony existing between the court of Poonah and that of Calcutta : Bajee Row, secure against foreign attack, paid great attention to the improvement of his resources ; and though he manifested a disposition to keep up a secret correspondence with the Mahratta chieftains, this was winked at, until the ascendancy, which was gained over his mind about the year 1815, by Trimbukjee Dainglia, an artful and wicked man, who from a menial servant was raised to the post of chief minister, decidedly changed his policy, and engaged him in secret intrigues against his allies. An atrocious murder committed by him on the person of Gandagur Shastree, a Brahmin of the highest order, and minister of the Guickwar, within the consecrated walls of a pagoda, occasioned a demand that he should be given up to the British government, whose extreme lenity towards atrocious criminals in India has been one of its greatest errors ; and this murderer, a wretch stained with a thousand crimes, and disgraced by vices which disgusted even an Indian court, was placed in a splendid though strict confinement, from which he soon contrived means to escape.

Bajee Row, however, was only stimulated by the loss of this vile minister, and pandar to his obscene pleasures, to prosecute with increased zeal his intrigues against the British ; and the escape of Trimbukjee, who remained in the mountains, collecting troops, and disposing agents throughout the country, favored his designs. At the same time, such extensive levies of horse and foot were going on at Poonah, so many fortresses were repaired, and so large a portion of the peishwah's treasure was removed from Poonah, that Mr. Elphinstone, the British

² Prinsep, vol. i. p. 334.

resident, could no longer mistake his intentions : he therefore resolved to call down the subsidiary force to the capital, while he waited for instructions from the governor-general : these he received in May ; and Bajee Row was required, under pain of being treated as an enemy, to surrender Trimbukjee, make certain concessions of territory, and renounce the supremacy of the Mahratta empire. After a severe struggle, and trying every means of evasion, the deceitful peishwah was induced to sign the treaty, with an intention of violating it on the very first opportunity.

The governor-general had at length come to the determination of taking measures to suppress the Pindarries, having received permission from the court of directors to drive those wretches from their haunts on the Nerbuddah and in Malwah : his own views, however, were far more wise and comprehensive ; for he meditated their intire suppression, by eradicating the predatory system from central India. The plan of extermination now projected was similar to that pursued by the great Aurungzebe in his hunting of wild animals : the courts of Poonah and Berar being put out of the question, the attention of the British government was directed to the possessions of Sindia, Holkar, the Rajpoors, the nabob of Bhopaul, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Armies were ordered to assemble round these districts, which, by gradually contracting their circle toward a common centre, might hem in the Pindarries, with their adherents, on all sides : nor did lord Hastings hesitate boldly to assume the principle, that in these operations no power could be suffered to remain neutral ; whence it happened, that an enterprise, undertaken primarily against a wandering tribe of freebooters, ended in the suppression of the great and dangerous power of the Mahrattas. Orders for a simultaneous movement were issued at the end of September, 1817 : the army of Bengal, which took the field, consisted of 34,000 regulars, including about 5000 cavalry : that of the Deccan, which was placed under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, including a reserve at Adwanee, with different corps at Poonah, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor, amounted to 57,000 regulars ; of which 5250 were cavalry : about 23,000 irregular horse also were attached to the grand divisions, which were appointed to rendezvous at the most convenient spots for carrying on offensive operations. A judicious manœuvre of the divisions under lord Hastings and general Donkin, by placing Sindia's camp between them, left to that chief no other alternative in the event of his disobedience, except that of shutting himself

up in Gwalior, or joining the Pindarries. His lordship had received indisputable proof that Sindia was pledged to support them; and that in his determination to take the field, he would be followed by Ameer Khan, and other potentates, with whom he was in active correspondence: he was now therefore required to concur in the object of the British government, by placing his troops at its disposal; a British officer being appointed to superintend each division, and British garrisons admitted into his forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, to remain during the war. Anxiously watching the result of what was passing with the other Mahratta powers, Sindia evaded, as long as possible, the signature of this treaty, but was at length induced to accept its terms; and this ostensible defection from a cause, of which he was considered the main stay, was of great importance to the British operations. Ameer Khan followed this example, and agreed to disband his army on certain conditions: the Kerowlee rajah acknowledged the British supremacy, and received a guarantee for his dominions: Zalim Singh, regent of Kotah, also acceded to the terms proposed, and agreed to block up the passes leading into his country: in Bundelcund, Windek Row, the chief of Saugur, rejected them; while they were readily accepted by the rajahs of Simpthur and Jhansee: but the nabob of Bhopaul entered most heartily and sincerely into the cause.

The Pindarries, aware that offensive operations on a large scale were meditated against them, had been actively employed in assembling and recruiting their forces; but the want of combination among their chiefs prevented them from forming any consistent plan of action: they were cantoned in three bodies under Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed. Sheikh Dulhoo, the most adventurous of their partisans, declared his intention to join Trimbukjee in an expedition against the Deccan; while the rest were distracted in opinion, and inclined to await the expected rise of the Mahrattas. In the mean time, just as the British forces had arrived at their destined points, and the concerted plan was about to be put into execution, intelligence reached Sir Thomas Hislop at Hurda, that the peishwah had thrown off the mask, and risen up in arms. During the whole of October, Bajee Row had been collecting troops from all quarters, under pretence of aiding us in the Pindarrie war; but his intentions soon became apparent to the president, from a discovery of his efforts to seduce the British sepoy from their allegiance; of whom a large proportion in major Ford's battalions, being Mahrattas, were naturally won

over. It was the peishwah's design, before he commenced hostilities, to invite Mr. Elphinstone to a conference, and murder him; but from the commission of this atrocity he was deterred by Bappoo Gokla, the leader of all his enterprises, and the best cavalry officer among the natives of India: accordingly, at their last interview on the fourteenth of October, his highness renewed to Mr. Elphinstone fervent expressions of good will and gratitude toward the British government; with an assurance that his troops should be quickly sent to the frontier, for the purpose of co-operating with its armies: in the mean time, as general Smith's force was at a distance, and a European regiment, ordered from Bombay, could not be expected in less than ten days, the safety of the resident, as well as of the British forces, became very precarious: parties of horse now came out, and gradually encamped around their cantonments, continually increasing in numbers; while a strong corps of infantry occupied a position on one of their flanks. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Mr. Elphinstone, being unwilling to commence hostilities, confined himself to remonstrances; while night after night was passed in anxious suspense: still the peishwah hesitated, against the recommendation of his general; and on the thirtieth, the expected regiment arrived from Bombay.

The resident now determined to remove the troops from their exposed situation to the village of Kirkee, about four miles distant; and on the first of November, they took up their ground on that spot: but the peishwah, supposing that they had retired through fear; and believing, from the reports of his emissaries, that the sepoys were completely seduced from their allegiance, determined to attack them: still however keeping up his system of deception to the end, he sent to inform the resident, that he was about to march for the purpose of attending a religious festival: at the same time, the whole Mahratta camp was in motion; and Mr. Elphinstone, with the other gentlemen of the residency, had barely time to fly, under cover of its honorary guard, before the enemy arrived, and began to burn and plunder all around them. Having joined the army, they determined to advance, and fight the battle in the open plain, between their encampment and the city; which forward movement so damped the courage of the Mahrattas, and alarmed the peishwah, that his heart failed him, and he sent to Gokla to stop the advance of his troops: that intrepid leader however, instead of obeying orders, instantly commenced the attack, opening a battery of nine guns, and pushing for-

ward his cavalry to the right and left, so as almost to surround the British troops: but in this movement, which was rapidly executed, the infantry were left behind, with the exception of one regular battalion under a Portuguese leader, named de Pinto, which had marched by a shorter route. Against these the British sepoys instantly pushed forward and became detached from the line; on which, Gokla, who never neglected an opportunity, ordered a charge of cavalry, which was perceived by colonel Barr just in time to withdraw his men from destruction: fortunately there was a deep morass in the way, of which neither party was aware; and into this the first ranks of the Mahrattas fell, before they could rein up their horses: the reserved fire of the British was then poured in with great effect; the attack became completely disconcerted; and on the advance of the British line, the whole field was cleared. Next morning, the brigade was joined by a light battalion, and its auxiliary horse, which deterred Gokla from renewing his attack. In the mean time, general Smith advanced; and the peishwah retired in haste towards Satarah, leaving his tents standing: the city then surrendered; and the British commander, having been joined by a regiment of native cavalry, set off in pursuit of the enemy.

Though Bajee Row thus failed in his manœuvres, Appa Sahib, the Nagpoor rajah, imitated his example with a similar degree of duplicity and vacillation: he also, to the last, was profuse in expressions of attachment to the resident, Mr. Jenkins; and inveighed bitterly against the peishwah's base and treacherous conduct. On the night of the twenty-fourth of November, however, he sent to say, that a *khelaut*, and a *juree putker*, or golden streamer, had arrived from the peishwah, who expected him in his camp to receive other honors; and he invited the resident to be present at the ceremony: all remonstrances were unavailing; the insignia were received; and the rajah's troops took up positions in the vicinity of the residency so menacing, that Mr. Jenkins was obliged to call in the brigade from its cantonments: the whole force consisted only of two native battalions much reduced by sickness, two companies composing the resident's escort, and three troops of Bengal cavalry, with four six-pounders manned by Europeans. On the twenty-sixth of November, at sunset, when the British piquets were about to be placed, they were fired at by the rajah's Arabian infantry; after which his artillery opened on their position with a destructive effect. The rest of the night was occupied by the troops in making cartridges, and

placing on the brow of the hill sacks of flour, and other materials, to cover their position: at daybreak a furious assault commenced; in which one of the guns was taken, and all its defenders put to the sword by the Arabs; when the enemy's horse and foot, emboldened by this success, hemmed in the whole brigade, and prepared for a general attack. To increase the appalling difficulties of this crisis, the Arabs had got into the huts of the British troops; and the shrieks of women and children contributed to damp the courage of the men. At this critical moment, captain Fitzgerald, who had frequently requested leave to charge, and been as often prevented by his commanding officer, made a last effort to obtain permission, but in vain. Colonel Scott's reply was—'Tell him to charge at his peril.'—'At my peril be it then!' cried the gallant officer, as he advanced against the principal body of the enemy's horse, drove them from two guns by which they were supported, turned these against the enemy, and retired dragging them back into the resident's grounds: the infantry on the hill were encouraged by this brilliant exploit; and soon afterwards, when a tumbrel exploded among the Arabs, they descended to the charge, and totally dispersed the enemy. The conflict was now over; and 18,000 men retreated before a gallant little band of 1400, the loss on each side being very severe, and nearly equal.

Foiled in this disgraceful attempt, Appa Sahib sent to express great sorrow to Mr. Jenkins for what had happened; but the latter refused to treat until he had disbanded his troops. In the mean time, general Doveton arrived with the whole second division, and the absolute submission of the tyrant was then demanded: with this he apparently complied; but when the British advanced to take his guns, a furious cannonade was opened on their ranks, occasioning a loss of 140 men: the assailants, however, were eventually subdued; but Appa Sahib, strange to say! instead of meeting the punishment he deserved, was reinstated on the musnud; subject indeed to the control of the resident, and a military occupation of his country.

While these important transactions occurred at Poonah and Nagpoor, so confounding to all who had either openly or secretly taken part in the confederacy, the Pindarries had been completely driven out of their haunts in Malwah by the third division, under brigadier-generals Malcolm, Adams, and Marshall: those under Kureem Khan and Wasil Mohammed, at the invitation of Sindia, took a route toward Gwalior; while

Cheetoo went off to the north-west, in hopes of meeting support from Holkar's government. Between Gwalior and Kureem Khan's troops, lord Hastings directed his march, cutting them off from Sindia, while he completely overawed that chieftain: on the approach of the British divisions under Marshall and Adams, they forced the Lodwana Ghaut, and attempted to cross the Chumbul by the Lohaire ford; but they were there intercepted by general Donkin, who surprised their advanced guard, and captured the wife of Kureem, with all his state elephants, standards, and other insignia. The two chiefs, having burned their baggage, went off, at the head of 4000 of their best mounted cavalry, toward Mewar: of those left behind, a part were cut off by the troops and exasperated villagers; but a considerable body made their way into the Deccan.

When Cheetoo retired toward the north-west, he was pursued by Sir John Malcolm with the third division, till he found refuge in Holkar's camp near Mehidpoor. Sir John arrived at Agur on the fourth of December, where he heard that Holkar's army was decidedly hostile: waiting therefore the arrival of the first division under Sir Thomas Hislop, he advanced toward the enemy's camp, with an intention of offering terms, according to the governor-general's instructions: the Mahratta commanders, however, aware that if an alliance were formed, that consequence which they derived from a state of anarchy would be diminished or destroyed, provoked a rupture by incessant depredations on the cattle and followers of the British camp: nay, so determined were they to cut off all chance of pacification, that, suspecting the regency of a design to accept of terms, they placed the *dewan*, Gunput Row, in confinement, and put Toolsay Bhye to death; when, as Sir John Malcolm observes, 'not a foot stirred, not a voice was raised, to save a woman, who had never shown mercy to others.'

On the day when this event took place, the British army advanced within ten miles of Holkar's camp, on the banks of the Seepira, where, in a tumultuous council, it was determined to hazard an engagement: all skirmishing and partial conflicts being avoided on both sides, a battle ensued, which ended in the total rout of the Patan and Mahratta troops, who lost about 3000 men; while their conquerors had 174 killed, and 604 wounded, of whom thirty-eight were European officers. The main body of the enemy then fled to Mundissor, where submission alone saved them from destruction; and the mother of Mullar

Row, Keissurah Bhye, now head of the Holkar state, placed her son and his interests in the hands of the English; from whom, after his claims on Rajpootana and Jyepoor had been abandoned, he received a guarantee for his family possessions: a *vakeel* from Holkar was to reside at Calcutta, and a resident envoy to be settled at his court. As soon as this treaty was signed, the Mahratta horse under Ram Deen hastened to join Bajee Row at Kopergaum; but the remains of their defeated infantry were met and routed with great slaughter in January, by general Browne.

Notwithstanding this overthrow of Holkar's power, some of Sindia's officers still showed a disposition to support the Pindarries; and it was found necessary to send a division against Jeswunt Rao Bhow at Jawud, which town was taken, and his troops were destroyed; while the three forts of Kumulnere, Ryepoor, and Ramnagur were reduced by general Donkin about the middle of February. Cheetoo withdrew from the force of Jeswunt, and went off to the north-west; but his troops were cut up by the Gujerat division; and an immense number of stragglers were destroyed by the villagers and the Bheels, who spared none that fell into their hands. Cheetoo himself for a time escaped, and passed through a variety of adventures; but at last he disappeared, and was not heard of for some days; after which, his horse was discovered grazing near the jungles of Asseergurh, saddled and bridled: a search being then made, a bag was discovered, containing rupees and other valuables, beside some letters from Appa Sahib, engaging his services and promising great rewards: at no great distance lay a portion of his garments clotted with blood, together with some of his mangled limbs, and his head; the relics of a tiger's feast.

The Pindarries, dispersed abroad, and deprived of their leaders, were not much heard of afterwards; though flying parties continued to infest the Deccan, till the termination of the war with the peishwah: eventually, they mingled with the rest of the population, becoming very active and industrious as cultivators of the soil. Many of the Patans, being taken into our service, proved themselves excellent and faithful soldiers: all the states, except Saugur, accepted the terms offered by the governor-general; while the cessions made by Sindia enabled him to reward the rajah of Boondee, and the excellent young nabob of Bhopaul. Sir John Malcolm, remaining as political agent for central India, contributed by his

active exertions and conciliatory conduct to introduce and promote the blessings of peace and good order, in a country where they had been long unknown.

Soon after the surrender of Nagpoor, general Doveton, deceived by the appearance of tranquillity, advanced to co-operate with Sir Thomas Hislop; but no sooner was Appa Sahib reinstated in power, than he renewed his intrigues, encouraged freebooters, and applying to Bajee Row for aid, sent secret directions to his agents to resist his own orders for surrender: the resident, however, having obtained clear proof of this treachery, arrested him on the fifteenth of March, 1818; while the troops of Bajee Row, advancing to his assistance, were met and driven back by colonel Scot. Appa Sahib was then sent off, in pursuance of instructions from headquarters, to the place of his intended confinement at Allahabad; but having corrupted some of his guards, he escaped to the Mahadeo-hills, and formed a rallying point for the disaffected or broken troops in all parts of the country: having eluded pursuit, he succeeded in gaining the fortress of Asseerghur; and when that fell in 1819, he again made his escape to the Seik country; but all his offers of submission being despised by the British government, he at length sunk into utter insignificance.

In the mean time, the peishwah, Bajee Row, having despatched a party to bring to his camp the rajah of Satarah, nominal head of the Mahratta empire, and being joined by Trimbukjee with a strong detachment, marched southward, giving out that he intended to attack Poonah: on this intelligence, colonel Barr, who commanded there, sent off an express to the encampment at Seroor for reinforcements; when a battalion was ordered to march, consisting of 500 rank and file, with two six-pounders manned by Europeans, and accompanied by 300 irregular horse; the whole under the command of captain Staunton: next morning, about ten o'clock, these troops reached some high ground overlooking the village of Koreigaum on the Bheema, whence the whole of the peishwah's army, 20,000 foot and 8000 horse, was seen encamped on the opposite side of the river: fortunately, the road to the village, which lay on the left bank, was unoccupied by the enemy, and captain Staunton pushed for the walls of Koreigaum: the Mahrattas, perceiving this intention, detached three corps of 1000 Arabs each, the best soldiers in their service, under cover of the artillery, and supported by large bodies of horse, to intercept him; and both parties succeeded in occupying a por-

tion of the village: thus situated, the British had nothing but destruction to expect, cut off, as they were, from the water, and exposed to a burning sun, after a long night's march, without any subsequent repose: resistance however of the most determined kind was made; every foot of ground was disputed; several streets were taken and retaken; and repeated attacks of the Arabs were repulsed with the bayonet: many officers had now fallen; the sufferings of the wounded were dreadful, and the survivors who continued the conflict became almost frantic from the privation of water: in this case, some of the artillerymen wished to surrender, if terms could be obtained; but captain Staunton was resolutely opposed to their request. Lieutenant Chisholm, their officer, being killed, the enemy rushed on one of the guns and took it; when lieutenant Patterson, the adjutant of the battalion, a very powerful man, who lay mortally wounded, hearing that the gun was seized, started up, and calling on the grenadiers once more to follow him, rushed into the midst of the Arabs, striking them down with a musket on all sides, until a second ball totally disabled him: the sepoys, however, thus encouraged, were irresistible: the gun was at length retaken, and brought off from piles of Arabs who lay dead around it: the situation of the troops, however, towards evening, became quite hopeless; but as night advanced, the fury of the attack relaxed, and a supply of water was procured: at nine, the village was evacuated by the enemy; and at daybreak, the peishwah's army was descried moving off on the Poonah road, having received intelligence of general Smith's approach: captain Staunton, however, not aware of this relief, and supposing that the enemy was lying in wait for him, as indeed was the case, gave out that he was about to march on Poonah: as soon as it was dark, he started in that direction; and then changing his route, retreated on Seroor, which he reached next morning, with his guns and wounded men. Of twenty-six artillerymen, twelve were killed and eight wounded; of the native infantry, fifty were killed and 105 wounded; and ninety-six of the cavalry were put *hors de combat*: of eight European officers, three were killed and two wounded; while the loss of the enemy was reckoned at near 700 men. To commemorate this gallant exploit, a monument was erected, and inscribed with the names of those that fell: the whole corps, the second battalion of the first Bombay native infantry, were raised to the rank of grenadiers, as their first battalion had been for the defence of Mangalore; while captain Staunton was immediately made

honorary aide-de-camp to the marquis of Hastings, and subsequently governor of Ahmednugger.

The peishwah now fled toward the Carnatic, followed by general Pritzler, with the reserve division of the Deccan army: on his arrival at the Gutpurbe, he was surprised to find the country raised against him; turning therefore suddenly round, he avoided general Pritzler, recrossed the Krishna, and descended the Salpee Ghaut, in the direction of Sholapoor. Generals Smith and Pritzler then united their forces, and proceeded to Satarah, where, having quickly reduced the place, they hoisted the *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of Sevajee; while Mr. Elphinstone issued a manifesto, setting forth to the Mahrattas the reasons which led the British government to deprive the peishwah of all public authority, and to take possession of his territory; the whole of which was thenceforward to be under the company, except a small tract reserved for the rajah of Satarah, the head of the nation: this prince was now restored, not only to be a counterpoise to the influence of the Brahmins, but to conciliate the Mahrattas, that an opening might thus be made for their employment in our service. A new distribution of the British forces now took place; one division, under Pritzler, advancing to attack the hill forts south of Poonah, while Smith set out in pursuit of Bajee Row, with whom he came up, on the road to Ashta, the twentieth of February, with his cavalry and artillery, just as the Mahrattas were moving off their ground. The peishwah sent a taunting message to Gokla, as having suffered the army to be surprised; but the latter replied, that he would guard the rear, or lose his life: the cowardly tyrant then quitted his palanquin; and, mounting a fleet horse, thought only of his own safety, leaving with Gokla about 10,000 cavalry to cover his retreat. The ground of the Mahrattas was chosen with much judgment, and the battle was fought with great fury: general Smith was cut down in a skilful charge made by Gokla; but major Dawes, with the reserve of the twenty-second, bravely attacked that chieftain, who fell on the field; when the whole body of Mahrattas took flight. They were pursued ten miles, and the booty which fell into our hands was immense; but the most important result was the liberation of the rajah of Satarah, with his mother and two brothers, who voluntarily placed themselves under British protection.

The Mahrattas now began to think their cause, and that of the peishwah, desperate: great numbers dispersed; and general Smith, having escorted the rajah to his ancient throne

amid the acclamations of all ranks, renewed the pursuit of his enemy.

The contest with Bajee Row, who had been joined by Ram Deen, a partisan of the Holkar family, was some time longer protracted; but in all his marches, whatever their direction might be, he found himself opposed to British divisions. On the fifth of May, as he was advancing toward Sindwa, intending to cross the Nerbuddah, he found that Sir John Malcolm had made such preparations to intercept him, that escape was impossible: he had often sent overtures for a negociation, but unconditional surrender had been always required: his force, however, still amounted to 5000 horse and 4000 foot, of which half were Arabs; and being at length admitted to a conference by Sir John, a treaty was concluded; when he agreed to renounce for ever all sovereignty in the Deccan, to which he was never to return; also to separate himself from Ram Deen, as well as all other proscribed rebels and Pindarries, on the condition of receiving safe escort, and an annual allowance of eight lacs of rupees. Although these terms were considered by the governor-general as verging on the extreme degree of liberality, he did not hesitate to ratify them; and Bajee Row was conveyed to Beithoor, as his future place of residence. Trimbukjee escaped for a time, and attempted to procure adherents; but, his retreat being discovered, he was apprehended by a party of horse, and sent prisoner to the fortress of Chunar on the Ganges. In the mean time, the rajah of Satarah was installed with great pomp; after which, he publicly announced his connexion with the British government, and the arrangements made for an English resident at his court: in the course of the summer, all the scattered bands of insurgents were dispersed or subdued; their hill fortresses were taken; and the predatory system, which had long been converting the garden of the world into a wilderness, being now intirely overthrown, the governor-general hesitated not to proclaim that supremacy, which indisputably belonged to Great Britain, from Indus to the Ganges: such also was the change of public opinion in England, that, according to the observation of Sir John Malcolm, 'not a voice was raised against a measure, the very contemplation of which, a few years before, had been denounced as a dream of ambition.'

Thus, after so many centuries of uninterrupted war and anarchy, a degree of security and repose was restored to this magnificent empire, which at no former period it ever possessed: nor were the blessings of peace and security the only

objects of lord Hastings's wise and beneficent administration : to rouse the public mind from the lethargy of ages, to cultivate its moral faculties, and to introduce the word of life into realms which had been so long abandoned to the grossest system of idolatry, was the grand aim of this enlightened nobleman. The venerable societies in England for the promotion of moral and religious knowlege had heretofore expressed great anxiety for the advance of education among our Indian subjects ; but the first instance on record, in which the instruction of the common people became an open and avowed object with any Indian government, was the grant made by lord Hastings to the Bengalese schools at Chinsurah, established by Mr. Robert May, in 1814 ; and the success of this experiment fully justified the enlightened policy by which it was dictated. In 1816, the Serampore institution for native schools was formed ; and the ' Hints ' were published, which led to a general patronage of such seminaries throughout the presidency : the School-Book Society was next year established by the illustrious consort of the governor-general, which contributed to awaken a noble spirit of benevolent emulation, that led to the promotion of the Calcutta School Society. To both these associations the government assigned a monthly contribution of 500 rupees.

None of these institutions were formed with a view of imparting to the natives a knowlege of christianity ; but under the auspices of bishop Middleton, the Calcutta Diocesan Committee arose, in 1818, which fearlessly avowed its grand object ;—the gradual conversion of those myriads under British rule, to whom the Gospel is unknown, by the process of christian education ; for, according to the authority of that excellent prelate, not the remotest danger was to be apprehended from such a measure if the persuasive method was strictly adopted. In the preceding year, the Auxiliary Church Missionary, and the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Societies had been set on foot ; while a third institution of this kind was founded, in April, 1818, under the name of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society. In 1820, the first stone was laid of Bishop's College, the design of which was to provide a body of clergy, trained up, not in theology alone, but in a knowlege of the principal languages of India ; that so they might be duly qualified to diffuse saving knowlege among their heathen brethren. In July, 1823, it was determined by the governor in council, to constitute a general committee of public instruction, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of education in Bengal, and of the institutions designed for its promotion : he also announced his

resolution to appropriate the annual sum of one lac of rupees to the general purposes of public education. These spirited and benevolent measures were followed up by a series of other admirable institutions; among which, the Ladies' Native Female Education Society deserves to be honorably mentioned; for, previously to this, no instance was known of an Indian girl having been instructed in the commonest branches of education. The authority of bishop Heber fully confirmed the prediction of his great predecessor, when he observed, that 'there was not even a semblance of opposition to the efforts making to enlighten the Hindoos:' so that not only has the reproach of selfish apathy, so long adhering to the British name in India, been wiped away; but a noble and imperishable monument of christian charity has been reared, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, seems destined to last through all ages. The wise and good, and therefore truly great Hastings, whose fostering hand contributed so largely to rear that monument, descended from his high station, and returned to England in 1823, after an administration of nine years; at the end of which, the annual revenue of India, augmented as it had been by four *crores* of rupees, was still on the increase: but the noblest feature of his government was its beneficent aspect on the intellectual and moral condition of the people. In all respects, it may be regarded as a new and auspicious era to the millions of British India; as the consummation, or key-stone, of that fabric, which Clive and Wellesley contributed to raise.

We must now revert to the affairs of our own island. During the long struggles of war, all seemed prosperous, all employed; commerce found new channels, agriculture new products, manufactures a new impulse; in short, our resources grew from our very exigences; and the greater the pressure, the higher we seemed to rise: but it was at length discovered, that this pressure had strained the machine; and that affairs had for some time past been in a very unnatural state: this, among other things, had given rise to great inequalities of condition: the rich were become richer, the poor poorer; and hundreds had gained, while thousands lost. During the time intervening between the last statistical period of which we treated, and the end of the war, the borrowing, taxing, and paper-money schemes, having been carried to their utmost extent, had produced their most important effects: so great indeed was the display of national resources, and so reckless the expenditure of wealth, that it becomes interesting to consider a little more fully the extent and consequences of this whole system.

The sum expended by government, from the year 1809 to 1815, both inclusive, was, in the currency of the time, £630,789,973; being an average annual expenditure of £90,112,853: if to this be added £7,000,000 a year for the expense of collecting the taxes, we have a total of £679,789,973; and as a large portion was borrowed, the national debt at the end of this period amounted to £864,822,441, requiring the enormous sum of £41,225,257 to pay the interest. The ministers, however, of those days, extravagant as they were, are not to be charged with the expenditure of so large an amount of money in a currency of full value; for in comparing different periods, we must make allowance for the depreciation caused by excessive issues of paper: this depreciation, as measured by the market price of gold, and taken on an average of seven years, was about twenty per cent. During the above period, the population had advanced to more than 13,000,000;³ and the number of enclosure bills passed from 1809 to 1814, both inclusive, amounted to 704. The official value of goods exported, above colonial produce re-exported, gave a yearly average of £31,600,320; and when the annual average of the six preceding years, estimated at £25,074,400 is considered, and the superior economy of labor in the production of the exports in the latter, as compared with the former period, the increase in the quantity of labor required to produce the whole of the exports, and consequently to purchase all the imports, was not considerable: thus the benefit arising from the increase of manufacturing power was almost exclusively obtained by this country; as the articles exported, though generally produced with less labor, sold for almost equal prices in the foreign market; and their exporters were enabled to bring back a supply of foreign commodities most in demand here, in return for what had cost but little. The supply of imports would have been still greater, but for the large foreign war expenditure by government, much of which rested on the exports, and absorbed a considerable portion of them. The bills drawn and paid by British agents, for supplies to our fleets and armies, were received by exporters in payment for their goods: the subsidies also to foreign powers were really furnished in the same manner: those powers drew bills on the British government, which were sold in commercial marts, to persons who employed them in the purchase of British goods;

³ By the census of 1811 it was 12,609,864.

which goods, in fact, supported our armaments, and paid our allies in the formidable struggle: the bills were finally paid in money, by the British government to the British producer, with the sums raised from the people by taxes and loans.

The high price of grain during this period would probably have caused considerable imports of that article from foreign countries, had not the war prevented it, by increasing the cost of freightage for bulky commodities, as well as creating a large demand for it in countries occupied by our armies. In no year, from 1809 to 1814 inclusive, were 2,000,000 of quarters imported; and in 1812, when wheat had reached its highest price of 125s. 6d. a quarter, only 535,733 quarters of foreign corn were imported into Great Britain. Before the end of this period the reduction in the value of money had produced its full effect on all fixed annuities; the payers of which, who may generally be considered as persons engaged in active employment of some kind, were benefited, in proportion as the receivers lost: this reduction was a relief to the productive classes, and enabled them better to bear the burdens arising from loans and taxes. All lands to be re-let were sought after with an avidity which in itself caused a farther increase of rent, and inflicted no slight evil on the productive classes; for the very high profits of the farmer were temporary, and could not long continue above those of other capitalists: yet for the purpose of participating in those profits, farmers gave, and established, a rate of rent, which soon disabled them from paying competent wages to their laborers, and obtaining, at the same time, moderate profits for themselves. At the end of 1815, the land in cultivation was computed at 40,000,000 of acres; which, at an average of one pound per acre, would give a total rental of £40,000,000 in current money, being an advance above the supposed rental in 1793 of £22,000,000. The reduction of the value of money at the time prevented the burden of this from being heavily felt; but the increase of rent being established, while the value of the currency was subsequently raised, gave rise to much and severe distress: as the high price of landed produce was very beneficial to those who received tithes in kind, the clergy in general considered this a prosperous period; but as they are accustomed to spend their incomes, and not to accumulate capital, to be used like that of the farmer, the wealth furnished to them, in the form of tithes, was so much abstracted from the productive classes.

The rate of profit during the latter part of the war continued

high, as may be concluded from the prices of the three per cent. consols : ⁴ capitalists also gained a great advantage by the loans being made in three per cent. stock, which the government engaged not to pay off, except at the full price of £100 money for £100 stock : the holder of such stock, therefore, had the benefit of every possible rise which might take place from the current price at the time of purchase, till it advanced to £100. An advantage, to a certain limited extent, resulted from the substitution of paper money for gold : the issue of the paper drove out the gold, which was expended either in paying for imports, or defraying the foreign expenditure of the government. Thus about £20,000,000 were liberated from their employment as currency, and made available for purposes of national expenditure, by which the country was so far assisted at the time : the necessity, however, of paying interest to a separate class of paper-money makers for a supply of circulating medium, was a slight counteracting effect. On a general view of the whole system, it may be said, that very unfavorable results were produced on the condition of the people, during this period, by increased taxation, heavy loans, high profits, advanced rents and tithes, together with a constant conversion of primary into secondary producers ; while these disadvantages were to a certain degree counterbalanced, though not fully, by an increase of population and productive power ; by a reduction in the value of annuities ; by the exports of corn and cheaply produced articles of exportation. But whatever may have been the increase in the aggregate productive power of the primary laborers, such increase, added to that in their numbers, was not sufficient to counteract the effects of the abstraction of such large quantities of wealth from them as were actually taken : their situation, therefore, became deteriorated ; as was apparent in the condition of the poorer classes generally, but especially in that of the agricultural laborers : evidence of this is seen in the increase of rates which were found necessary for their relief : about the year 1793 the sum raised annually for this purpose was only £2,167,748 ; but in 1812 it amounted to £8,640,842 ; which, if it be taken in a currency reduced in value fifty per cent, will be more than double the amount of the former : the decline, however, in the condition of the laborers was not experienced alike by all classes : as net wealth increased, those whose business it was to modify it, and pro-

⁴ The average price of these were ; in 1809, 68½ ; in 1810, 67½ ; in 1811, 63½ ; in 1812 and 1813, 59 ; in 1814, 66½.

vide objects of luxury for its opulent owners, would find, for a time, increased demand for their labor, until competition brought down their remuneration to the general reduced rate: those also who labored to produce articles of exportation by improved modes of production, had their wages, for a time, either actually raised, or kept above what they would otherwise have sunk to.

Just before the termination of the war, there seems to have been a crisis in the internal condition of the country; when so many alterations were taking place, and so many causes in operation, that it becomes difficult to trace their separate workings: the great profits of agricultural capitalists had caused them to bring large quantities of inferior land into cultivation, and to expend much of their profits in forcing its produce. In 1813, the effects of these proceedings began to appear in a decline of the price of grain, much beyond that of other commodities: this continued through the two following years; a natural result of high profits, producing over production. It was supposed that the opening of the markets in the north of Europe tended to cause this fall in 1814 and 1815; but the tables show, that during these two and the next year, the whole quantity of wheat, barley, and oats, imported beyond that exported, only amounted to 760,065 quarters; a quantity incapable of producing any perceptible effect on our markets: other causes however operated to produce this depreciation.

During the three years of 1813, 1814, and 1815, the Bank of England notes in circulation were, in round numbers, respectively £24,000,000, £29,000,000, and £27,000,000; and supposing the circulating medium to have been about £60,000,000, a great part of this enormous currency must have consisted of country bank notes: these had been issued by the bankers, to a great extent, for the accommodation of farming capitalists, who obtained ample credit, owing to the high prices of their produce: but when, in 1813, abundance began to lower these prices,⁵ the more cautious bankers felt alarm, and credit could not be so easily procured: hence a diminution in the amount of country bank notes took place;⁶ and this, by accelerating the fall of prices,

⁵ At Michaelmas of this year, wheat fell to thirteen shillings a bushel; and at Lady-day, 1814, to ten shillings and ninepence.

⁶ In 1815, near £3,000,000 were abstracted from the amount of the preceding year; and in 1816, £4,000,000 more: this received a little increase in 1817.

naturally increased the alarm, and tended still farther to diminish this species of currency: hence all the agricultural classes became similarly affected, while the whole amount of the currency was reduced; and not only the prices of landed produce, but also of bullion, would naturally fall: as this fall proved ruinous to a considerable number of farmers, and produced a general want of confidence, such a destruction of provincial paper ensued as rarely has been paralleled; for no fewer than 240 country banks stopped payment during the years of 1814, 1815, and 1816. In 1815, the price of wheat having fallen to about ten shillings a bushel, landlords as well as tenants became alarmed; and imagining that the low prices of grain arose from foreign competition, they determined to procure a corn law for their protection: this bill prohibited the introduction of foreign wheat into Great Britain till the price should rise to eighty shillings a quarter; and protected all other grain in a similar manner: but though it had an effect in preventing a rapid fall, the discovery was soon made that it did not raise prices as its promoters expected. It was necessary that the superabundant supply should be lessened before a rise could take place: this fall in the price of grain operated for a time in favor of the laboring population; for as the price of labor does not rise with that of food, so it does not fall with it, although it is generally much quicker in its decline than in its increase: but in 1816, the reduced means of the farmers obliged them very extensively to refuse employment to agricultural laborers; consequently, the condition of the latter became deteriorated, as appears from the amount of poor rates, which exceeded those of the preceding year by near £1,200,000; and even those of 1812, when wheat was 125 shillings a quarter, by more than £262,000. Thus the laborers suffered from the existing system, through a reduction of real wages; while the farmers began to experience the consequences of measures, which, by giving sometimes double or triple profits, stimulated them to an extension of production: this brought down prices from the high rate to which they had attained, partly through country bank notes; the withdrawal of which, on a decline of price, pushed it down still farther than it would have ordinarily gone.

The manufacturing class, toward the end of the period of which we have been treating, was somewhat differently affected: a great abundance, and consequent cheapness of agricultural produce, naturally gave them a temporary advantage: but in addition to this source of prosperity, the

opening of new markets on the continent, through the discomfiture of the French, caused so great a demand for British goods, that the price of weaving a piece of calico, which in 1811 was five shillings and sixpence, rose in 1814 to ten shillings: this however was principally the effect of speculation. In the autumn of that same year, it was discovered that the high prices of labor could not be sustained; and in 1816 they declined to about one half.

The great advance which took place in the income of net receivers, and the corresponding increase of their numbers, had very conspicuous effects on the external features of the country, as well as its institutions: this was no where more perceptible than in the places which those persons selected for their residence, such as Brighton and Cheltenham, which rose rapidly in splendor and population; hence also a vast increase in those noble seats with which every part of the land is decorated, and innumerable mansions in the environs of our cities; which, if the epithet of magnificent be denied them, combine elegance and convenience to a degree which is seen in no other nation under the sun. To the same source may be referred numerous works of public utility, such as superb bridges thrown across the Thames and other rivers, docks of enormous magnitude, aqueducts, and canals; scientific associations, from which discoveries emanated, imparting unexpected comforts to society, together with a new impulse to the human intellect; hospitals, medical schools, and other institutions, calculated to relieve misery to an extent hitherto unknown; also literary societies, which opened the gates of knowledge to thousands, against whose ingress they had previously been barred. Without dwelling on those stars of literature which are destined to shine through all ages, we may observe, that improvements in education, accelerated by the modified processes of Bell and Lancaster, diffused their blessings so extensively among the lower classes of society, that the wish expressed by our venerable monarch, that every cottager in his realm could read the Bible, seemed likely to be realised. Great also was the increase of moral and religious establishments, by which the light of Gospel truth was cherished at home; while it was spread abroad by men, who traversed the most distant regions, not to kindle enthusiasm amid the ruins of ancient magnificence, but to repair the holier ruins of human nature. Nor were the fine arts neglected in this grand development of man's energies: the British school of painting, under the auspices of West and Lawrence,

Turner, Calcot, Wilkie, and others of great note, became the first in Europe; and though sculpture did not keep pace with her sister art, this was not for want of due encouragement, or examples of heroic valor to be commemorated by the chisel; yet even here, the classic dignity of Flaxman, and the natural grace of Chantrey, gave hopes of future excellence. Architecture had in several instances displayed its powers with effect; but preparations were made, during this era, for the establishment of that most useful and decorative science on true principles: the first of many enterprising and ingenious bands of British youth had started in search of architectural excellence at its fountain head; while the remarkable discoveries of Mr. Cockerell in Sicily and Greece, were calculated, not only to advance the art in which he is himself so eminent, but to perfect also that of sculpture. Neither were adventurers wanting to explore the antiquities, manners, and products of various nations, precursors of those more determined spirits, which, when the toils of war by sea and land were over, eagerly braved the most pestilential climes and savage regions, to explore new tracts for commerce, and open the broad path of civilisation throughout the world. The subject might be carried out to a vast extent; but it may be thought sufficient to have touched on some of its leading features: it must however be remarked, that this national display of intellectual power was almost independent of government, which, except in a few instances, neither called it forth, nor fostered it when produced: and though it may not be wholly attributable to the cause assigned, since many are the generous spirits which are swayed by the purest and most patriotic motives; yet there can be no doubt, but that an accumulation of wealth, and a desire of employing it, gave an extraordinary impulse to the energies of the age.

Yet though Great Britain issued from the contest, not only possessing claims to the gratitude of other nations, but proud of that magnificence with which the development of her vast resources had invested her, still the day of internal struggle was at hand. Though our prosperity, during the war, seemed to rise with our very exigences and expenditure; yet, when peace arrived, we discovered, as before has been observed, the strain which the machine of civil policy had sustained; and we then perceived those increased inequalities of condition, to which the system long pursued had given rise: we had indeed been victorious by sea and land; we had won the race among nations, but it was soon to begin among

ourselves. The great advantage possessed by England in the late contest arose from public spirit; which spirit was produced by our glorious constitution: but now that constitution itself was to be convulsed in our transition from a state of war to that of peace; and this could not be effected without great changes of property: an immense number of persons would necessarily be cast on society, whom the long war had brought up dependent on itself alone for support; many would be thrown out of employment by the cessation of particular sources of revenue; great fluctuation would take place in various branches of trade and manufactures; markets would be glutted; competition among ourselves and foreigners would be carried to a ruinous excess; while a heavy debt and an insecure paper currency pressed with alarming effect on all: it was to be expected that advantage would be taken of this state of things by designing men, to excite discontent and dangerous opposition to established institutions; while a fear of consequences would naturally lead others to defend the very abuses connected with our constitution, lest an excision of excrescences might endanger the trunk itself. Though selfishness and other bad passions found ample scope for exercise on both sides, yet there was still left a large stock of good principles in the country; and the middle classes in particular, being generally sound at core, steadily resisted the enemies of social order and tranquillity: nor let it be considered presumptuous, if we claim for the church of England its due portion of merit, in checking the progress of those irreligious doctrines that were so studiously disseminated in aid of popular disaffection: perhaps it may not be too much to say, without derogating from the merit of many other religious societies, that the moral habits of the people, and through them the stability of our civil institutions, may be mainly traced to the benign influence diffused throughout the community by its ecclesiastical establishment. If we have undergone, and still sustain, a severe pressure; if a large portion of our fellow countrymen have been reduced to want, or goaded on to intemperance and insubordination; we have still had virtue to resist the wild spirit of disorganisation, while we have rescued the altar of liberty from those who were not sufficiently careful to guard its sacred flame. Higher than ever is our country advanced among nations; and long may it so remain! for the day on which it ceases to guide the opinion of Europe, and to be an example for those who are struggling out of the darkness of oppression into the light of freedom, will be an evil day for the whole human race, but especially for those who most desire our ruin.

CHAP. LVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1816.

Meeting of parliament—Debates on the treaties—State of Ireland—Royal marriages—Stagnation of trade, and high price of provisions—Seditious assemblies in the metropolis—Expedition to Algiers—Attack and surrender of that city—Honors conferred on lord Exmouth—Discovery of the safety-lamp by Sir Humphrey Davy—Encouragement of the fine arts—Meeting of parliament—Attack made on the prince regent—Measures of economy—Retirement of Mr. Abbott from the office of speaker—Reports of secret committees on the prevalence of sedition—Apprehensions of suspected individuals—Suspension of the habeas corpus act—Farther restrictions on public liberty—Committee on the poor-laws—Disturbances at Manchester—Trials for high-treason—Prosecution of Mr. Hone for the publication of political parodies on the Litany—State of political parties at this period—Death of the princess Charlotte—New coinage—Opening of Waterloo-bridge—Domestic events—Brief review of foreign governments.

WHEN the British parliament met in February, Mr. Brougham moved for a copy of the treaty concluded at Paris, and designated by the title of 'the Holy Alliance.' After citing an expression of Voltaire, 'that a colloquy of kings boded no good to nations,' he observed, that there was something so singular in the wording of this document, as to warrant a considerable degree of jealousy: nor could he think it had a sole reference to spiritual objects; for the partition of Poland had been prefaced by language of a similar nature; and the proclamation of the empress Catharine, which wound up that fatal tragedy, was couched in almost the same words. Lord Castlereagh, having vindicated the good faith and piety of the confederated sovereigns, refused to produce the treaty; for, although it had been communicated to the prince regent in the first instance by the Russian emperor, and received his royal highness's approbation, it had not received his signature; and the usage of parliament was against the production of any treaty

to which this country was not a party. Whatever may be thought of this celebrated alliance; whether, as some suppose, it originated in sincere enthusiasm, or in the sole desire of suppressing that popular principle which had been called into action by the united sovereigns themselves during their late contests with Napoleon, due credit must be given to the prince regent for his strict adherence to 'those forms of the British constitution,' which, according to his own statement, 'prevented him from acceding to the alliance:' a contrary line of conduct would certainly have embarrassed his government at a subsequent period, when measures were adopted by these theocratic despots, which were adverse to its principles.

From an abstract of the net produce of revenue ending on the fifth of January, the amount appeared to be £66,443,802; showing an excess of £1,013,821 over that of the preceding year: nevertheless, the chancellor of the exchequer announced his intention of proposing an income tax of five per cent; and with a view of gaining over the great mass of the people, he declared himself ready to exempt all incomes under £150, and farms paying less than that sum in rent, from the operation of the impost: on this reduced scale, he calculated that the tax would produce £6,000,000; but its continuance was not only deprecated by petitions from the great towns of the empire, but by vehement harangues in the house of commons, where it was shown, that, according to the original plan, more than half the tax had been paid by incomes below the proposed point of exemption; so that, according to the proposed scale, a sum exceeding £3,000,000 could not be expected: Mr. Vansittart however persisted in his design; but on a division, was defeated by a majority of 238 against 201. As the more opulent classes chose this method of relieving themselves from a heavy pressure, and rendered a loan indispensable, the minister resolved to grant a boon to the lower orders, which might at the same time alleviate that distress under which agriculture was now laboring: accordingly, he declined to bring forward again the war-tax on malt, which had been estimated to produce £2,000,000 per annum. The supplies for the year were stated at £39,400,000, and the ways and means to meet them as deficient about £2,500,000: but so complicated and obscure were the accounts, that Mr. J. P. Grant moved counter-resolutions, proving, on his view of things, a deficiency of £17,000,000: a majority of the house, however, supported the minister; and the sum required to meet the supplies was procured from the directors of the Bank of England, who advanced

to government £3,000,000, at three per cent. interest, on condition of being permitted to increase their capital by one fourth. The amount of the army estimates provoked a long and vehement discussion : opposition insisted that the maintenance of so large a standing army as it was proposed to keep up, was uncalled for by the aspect of foreign affairs, while it was incompatible with the distressed state of the nation : ministers, on the other hand, alleged, that not only the situation of the continent, but the large increase of our colonial dependencies demanded a proportional augmentation of our peace establishment ; and the estimated number of 176,615 men, including 30,000 stationed in France, was finally voted. After a violent debate on similar grounds, a vote of 33,000 men for the navy was also agreed to ; but the decided expression of public opinion out of parliament induced government to make various reductions in both these services during the year.

The proposal of so large a force at this time as 25,000 men for Ireland, naturally excited surprise, and led to some animadversion on the necessity of its employment. After all the evils and abuses which had been extinguished, and the many improvements introduced into that kingdom, by the union, it still exhibited a wretched scene of misery, turbulence, and crime : much has been done and much attempted, since the times of which we are now treating, to remedy the disorders of Ireland ; but still, though gifted with every physical blessing, that country is a prey to every moral curse ; and Irish misery still costs England countless sums to coerce her struggles under that load of oppression which was heaped on her by our ancestors. If any sin of the fathers is certain to be visited on the children, it is that of misrule ; and the hardest part of this dispensation is, that punishment commonly falls, not on those who uphold, but who relax an oppressive system. The grand evils which continue to afflict Ireland, arise, in the first instance, from that monstrous plan of confiscation pursued by our ancestors, which transferred so large a portion of the soil to foreigners : these cannot be expected to reside on their estates, which are therefore consigned to the hands of middlemen, who grind the people without pity or remorse ;—in the second instance, to that unfortunate method which was pursued for the introduction of our reformed religion. Instead of missionaries, well skilled in their native tongue, being sent to convince the inhabitants of the errors of their ancient faith, and reconcile them to the new church ; their rich endowments were suddenly transferred to the protestant establishment, many of whose

teachers were appointed from the sole motive of interest; most of them being bigoted Calvinists, whose system was least of all attractive to the followers of Romanism, and none acquainted with the language which alone their parishioners could speak or understand with readiness: nor was it even thought necessary to furnish them with a translation either of the liturgy or the Scriptures, 'though,' says bishop Heber, 'they were compelled by a fine, rarely indeed enforced, to attendance on a church service which was still more unintelligible to them than their ancient mass-book, without having the same associations to recommend it. Accordingly, while Wales, from an opposite line of treatment, received the doctrines of the reformation with avidity, and at an early period was become almost exclusively protestant; while the Norman isles have ever since been among the most faithful adherents of the episcopal church, from the advantage of French preachers and a French service-book; Ireland, with a people above most others docile and susceptible of new impressions, has remained, through a great majority of her population, in the possession of a creed discountenanced by the state, and under the dominion of prejudices, which, even to the present moment, no effectual measures have been taken to remove.'¹ Mr. Peel, who had lately commenced his political career with the credit of superior talents and a well-exercised intellect, was at this time secretary for Ireland; and he on the present occasion proved, with convincing energy and mournful truth, the necessity of the large force proposed for that country: unfortunately, however, for Ireland and himself, this statesman, whose legislative infancy had been cradled in tory prejudices, allied himself to the dominant party; and his anti-catholic policy neutralised or counteracted the better spirit of his Irish administration. The disturbances which distracted that country, were ascribed by Mr. Peel to a systematic opposition to all laws: this, indeed, was the case; and while a systematic spirit of injustice pervaded those laws, nothing could put down the opposition except a revision of the laws themselves, or the introduction of a military force: as the former remedy was at this time rejected, the latter became necessary for the protection of life and property. The usual routine of motions for inquiry into the state of Ireland, and for the repeal of catholic disabilities, were followed by their usual results; but a measure of some practical importance—the consolidation of the British and Irish

¹ Life of Jeremy Taylor, vol. i, p. 190.

exchequers—was effected in the course of the session. A bill also passed for the issue of a new silver coinage; and two others were introduced by lord Castlereagh, to authorise and regulate the detention of Napoleon Buonaparte in the island of St. Helena. Mr. Western took the lead in drawing public attention to the growing distress of agriculturists, and to the means of their future protection; but nothing satisfactory could be obtained: the manufacturing and commercial party in the house were strong; and, being firmly convinced that they had an opposite interest to maintain, as if all their profits and prosperity depended on cheap corn, they were anxious that the supply of food for the people should pass through their own ships and warehouses. Ministers seemed to be in state of doubt and vacillation on the subject; but it was soon practically felt that no interests could prosper at the expense of agriculture.

A message from the prince regent to both houses, on the fourteenth of March, announced the marriage contract of his daughter, the princess Charlotte Augusta, with his serene highness, prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; and on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, an annual sum of £60,000 was voted to the illustrious pair during their joint lives; the whole to be continued to her royal highness if the prince should die first, and £50,000 to him if he should be the survivor: £60,000 also were granted by way of outfit. This munificence was not the act of a venal parliament, which, it must be confessed, was ready enough to vote away the nation's money in order to gratify the whims and luxuries of royalty; but it may be considered as the spontaneous expression of love and affection from a great and generous people. On the second of May, the auspicious nuptials were celebrated, which diffused throughout the country unqualified pleasure and satisfaction; for the public felt a lively interest, not only in the personal character of the princess, and her relation to the state; but in the circumstances of her union with the object of her own choice; a union, in which political calculations for once had no place: nor was this honest and honorable attachment of the nation to the royal couple diminished by their deportment subsequent to their marriage; for, with an unaffected gracefulness and benignity that attracted all hearts, they shared in the amusements, the occupations, and the devotions of the people; while the example of domestic purity, which they promised to uphold, was hailed by every friend to the moral interests of society with joy and admiration.

Two months after the marriage of the princess Charlotte, the

long attachment of the duke of Gloucester to his cousin, the princess Mary, terminated also in a matrimonial union, with the approbation of her brother. Although this period might be considered as one of the happiest in the regent's life ; (for the princess of Wales was at a distance, the political safety of the country had been wondrously achieved, he was virtually the reigning sovereign, and his love of splendor was profusely gratified by the ministry) yet even now he began to adopt those habits of seclusion, which, in his latter years, withdrew him from the eyes of the people, and estranged their affections from his person. His visits were paid to few except the marquisses of Conyngham and Hertford ; his courts and public parties were very infrequent ; and his principal occupation was in the superintendence of improvements or alterations at his different places of residence.

The agreeable prospects, however, which arose out of these royal marriages could not avert public attention from more immediate causes of anxiety and alarm, arising from the increasing pressure of national distress. As the year advanced, the calamities of a most inclement season and a deficient harvest were added to a general stagnation of trade and commerce, in the absence of that monopoly of the foreign market which war secured to this country. A sudden rise in the price of all the necessaries of life, combining with a reduction of wages and a want of employment, produced a mass of suffering among the poor, which vented itself in discontent and murmurs, and finally in acts of outrageous violence : meanwhile, the increase of public difficulties warmed into action a host of demagogues, who availed themselves of the people's sufferings to disseminate the most inflammatory and seditious doctrines : the reckless prodigality of a government habituated to a war expenditure, and evidently averse to retrenchment ; the corruption and waste arising from sinecures, pensions, and other causes of improvident administration of the public money ;—these were made fertile themes of declamation by evil agitators. The populace were plausibly taught to ascribe all their miseries to the dishonesty of their rulers ; and a radical reform in the whole system of our constitution was inculcated as the universal remedy for distress. It was remarked with alarm, as a new and ominous feature of the times, that political meetings for petitions against abuses, and other ostensible purposes of reform, were eagerly attended by an immense concourse of the lowest and most ignorant classes, who were harangued by orators of their own, and violently excited, not

only against the government, but the higher orders of the community : the constitutional opponents of the ministry, however, though disgusted by that resistance which was shown to measures of retrenchment and economy, abstained from all participation in scenes which threatened the most appalling consequences.

These avowedly political meetings were generally conducted without any decided breaches of the peace ; and the first dispositions to open tumult arose more immediately from the pressure of absolute want on the agricultural and manufacturing laborers : in some of the eastern counties particularly, acts of serious violence were committed both by the artisans of towns, and by the rural peasantry, who had been thrown out of employment, and who thought themselves equally entitled to blame the master manufacturers for want of work, and the farmers for scarcity and high prices of food : nightly meetings were held ; threatening letters sent ; houses, barns, and stacks fired ; and in the isle of Ely, something like an organised insurrection broke forth, which was not suppressed without the exercise of force, and the execution of some of the principal offenders. In Staffordshire, where the stoppage of several great iron-works had not only deprived the men employed in them of bread, but had extended the suspension of trade to immense collieries connected with that branch of business, the whole laboring population were reduced to a state of starvation : but though the colliers exhibited threatening symptoms of riot, they were appeased, without bloodshed, by the temperate interference of the magistracy ; while the wants of the sufferers were extensively supplied by the contributions of private benevolence : the patience indeed of the wretched workmen in the iron trade, under the severest privations, was in general most laudable ; though one casual riot arose among those at the large establishment near Merthyr-Tydvil, in South Wales, which was not suppressed without military force : the conduct of the clothing manufacturers was less exemplary ; and at Nottingham, in particular, the system of outrage in frame-breaking, which had marked former periods of distress, was now alarmingly renewed under circumstances of regular combination.

The metropolis had continued, on the whole, tranquil until near the close of the year ; when two meetings in Spa-fields, convened by some of the mob-orators to petition the regent for a reform of abuses, attracted a vast concourse of the rabble, and led, on the second occasion, to a riot attended with more

apparent danger than any which had occurred for many years. Henry Hunt, the principal demagogue, though his language in announcing to the mob the rejection of their petition was sufficiently seditious and inflammatory, had the prudence, by withdrawing, to avoid committing himself to the consequences of his harangue; but a band of his more desperate associates, who had attended him with a tricolored flag, and other symbols borrowed from the old revolutionary school, endeavored, under the conduct of a father and son, named Watson, to lead the mob into the city: the numbers who followed them were, however, inconsiderable; but on their march, they broke into the shop of a gunsmith, on Snow-hill, to obtain arms; and the younger Watson there shot a gentleman who offered some remonstrance. Seizing all the arms they could find in that and some other shops, they proceeded through the city in military array, until they reached the Royal Exchange; when the lord mayor and aldermen, after vainly exhorting them to disperse, boldly secured several of the more audacious who had forced themselves into the building, and caused the gates to be closed against the remainder. The mob now fired, but without effect, over the gates, on the magistrates; but a strong body of troops having been quickly marched into the city, the rioters were finally overpowered, and compelled to disperse. An example or two was made of the ring-leaders; but the greatest criminal, the younger Watson, eluded all search, and effected his escape to America: the vigilance of government however was now excited; and after experience of this danger, every popular meeting in the vicinity of the metropolis was properly watched, without needless interference, by large bodies of the military and special constables.

From the excitement produced by these domestic occurrences, the national attention was for a time diverted to an exploit of the British navy, even more glorious, on account of the cause in which it was undertaken, than for the daring valor and brilliant success by which it was distinguished. To the disgrace of Europe in general, but with greatest reproach, perhaps, to the first among her maritime powers, the piratical states of Barbary had for ages been permitted to infest the commerce of the Mediterranean, and subject Christians to the most dreadful slavery; while no law gave them any protection from the caprice and cruelty of masters, who hated them for the very faith which they professed.² The fears indeed of these bar-

² It was stated in the British house of commons, that 'in one

barians had induced them, during the late war, to respect the British flag ; but the renewed freedom of commerce after the peace tempted the three principal states of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers to augment the number of their corsairs ; and the ferocious system of depredation, which they thus revived against vessels of nations in the alliance or under the protection of Great Britain, rendered it imperative on the mistress of the ocean to vindicate her honor : for this purpose, lord Exmouth, who then commanded in the Mediterranean, was instructed to insist on security from these piratical states for the commerce of the Ionian islands ; to negotiate a peace for Naples and Sardinia ; and, if possible, to obtain a general abolition of christian slavery.³

His lordship proceeded first to Algiers, where he obtained partially the object of his mission, in the release of all Ionian captives, and the ratification of a pacific treaty for Naples and Sardinia ; the former paying a ransom of 500 dollars, and the latter 300 dollars a head, for their redeemed slaves ; but at Tunis and Tripoli, the demand was made and accepted, for the total abolition of christian slavery. In the mean time, he had received instructions to claim from Algiers the privilege of selling and refitting privateers in its port ; a privilege, which had lately been granted by treaty to America : returning therefore on this mission, he took the opportunity of pressing on that state also the abolition of christian slavery ; but here he had a more formidable power to deal with : his demand was haughtily refused ; and when his lordship, with his brother, Sir Israel Pellew, and Mr. M'Donell, the British consul, were returning to the fleet, they were insulted by the crowd, and very narrowly escaped assassination. As the admiral had made this demand with very slight instructions from the admiralty,

case, fifty out of 300 prisoners died of ill treatment at Algiers, on the first day of their arrival ; the rest were kept in the most miserable condition, being allowed only a pound of bread a day, and subject to the lash from morning to night. No age, no sex was spared. A Neapolitan lady of distinction, carried off with eight children, six of whom survived, was seen by a British officer in the thirteenth year of her captivity.'

³ ' Perhaps there is no instance on record of such lamentable bigotry, as that shown on this occasion by the head of the Roman catholic church, who is said to have declined the offer of lord Exmouth's services, from difficulties arising out of religious scruples at confiding a formal trust to a protestant.'—Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 293.

he did not think himself justified in proceeding to extremities; especially as it was a common remark, that the obstructions to the navigation of the Mediterranean, created by the Barbary corsairs, were advantageous to British commerce: he therefore agreed that the dey should appoint an ambassador, who might proceed first to Constantinople to procure the sanction of the Ottoman Porte, and thence to London to treat on lord Exmouth's proposal: his lordship then returned with his fleet to England; and he did not reach its shores, before accounts arrived which determined the government to wait no longer the issue of negotiations, but at once to exact satisfaction for the past and security for the future. On the twenty-third of May, the Algerines had displayed their revenge, and contempt for our interference, by imprisoning the British vice-consul, and barbarously murdering the crews of several Italian vessels, under the English flag, that were engaged in the coral fishery at Bona.

Having received intelligence of these outrages, ministers resolved to enforce obedience on the common enemies of the civilised world, who were now considered as having filled up the measure of their crimes: lord Exmouth, therefore, was instructed to complete his work; and whatever force he might think necessary was placed at his disposal.

The city of Algiers, built on the declivity of a hill, is of a triangular shape, the base being the sea-front, which rises directly from the water, and is about a mile in length: the place is strongly fortified with walls of immense thickness, mounted with heavy guns; the sea-defences being particularly formidable: the harbor is artificial, formed by a pier and mole; and all parts around it were at this time covered with the strongest fortifications, mounting no less than 220 guns, some in double, and others in triple tiers; while the batteries on the wall, and at each extremity of the town, were so numerous, as to bring near 500 pieces of artillery to bear on the approaches by sea: many guns also in fortifications on the higher part of the city, were in situations that enabled them to fire on assailants. The admiralty were not a little surprised, when it was proposed to attack these works with five sail of the line, five frigates, four bomb-ketches, and five gun-brigs; though several naval officers who were consulted by the board considered them unassailable; and Nelson himself, in a conversation with captain Brisbane, had named twenty-five ships

of the line as the force requisite to attack them.⁴ Lord Exmouth, therefore, was again offered any number of ships which he might think necessary; but having long and well considered the question, and feeling satisfied that five ships could destroy the fortifications on the mole as effectually as a greater number, and with more safety to themselves, he fully explained his plans to the admiralty, marked the position which each ship was to occupy, and was allowed to act intirely on his own judgment. Accordingly, he set sail, on the twenty-fifth of July, from Portsmouth, on board the *Queen Charlotte*, of 108 guns; with the *Impregnable*, of 104, bearing the flag of rear-admiral Milne; the *Superb*, *Minden*, and *Albion*, of seventy-four; the *Leander*, fifty; the *Severn* and *Glasgow*, forty; the *Hebrus* and *Granicus*, thirty-six; the *Mutine* and *Prometheus*, sixteen; the *Cordelia* and *Britomart*, of ten; and the *Infernal*, *Hecla*, *Fury*, and *Beelzebub*, bomb-vessels. When this fleet arrived, on the ninth of August, at Gibraltar, they found a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, commanded by vice-admiral Von Capellan, who, on learning the object of the expedition, solicited and obtained leave to join it.

On the thirteenth, each ship received a plan of the fortifications, with full instructions regarding the position she was to occupy: on the fourteenth, they set sail; and on the sixteenth, when within about 200 miles of their destination, they were joined by the sloop *Prometheus*, direct from Algiers, bringing information that the Moors had completed all their defences, as well as added new ones; that 40,000 troops had been assembled, and all the janissaries called in from the most distant garrisons; while the whole naval force, consisting of four frigates, five large corvettes, and thirty-seven gun-boats, were collected in the harbor. The *Prometheus* brought the wife, daughter, and infant child of Mr. M'Donell, the British consul: the two former had succeeded in getting off, disguised as midshipmen; but the infant, which had been concealed in a basket, cried as it passed the gateway, and thus led to the arrest of all the party then on shore: the child was sent off next morning by the dey; 'a solitary instance,' said lord Exmouth, 'of his humanity;' but the consul was confined in irons at his house; and the surgeon, three midshipmen, and fourteen seamen of the *Prometheus*, were detained as prisoners.⁵

On the twenty-seventh, at daybreak, the combined fleets came in sight of Algiers; and as the ships lay nearly be-

⁴ Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 309.

⁵ Ibid. p. 318.

calmed, the admiral sent a flag of truce with the terms dictated by the British government, and a demand for the immediate liberation of the consul and seamen: the boat carrying the flag was met outside the mole by the captain of the port, who received the communication, and promised an answer in two hours: in the mean time, a breeze had sprung up, and the fleet, standing into the bay, lay to about a mile from the town: at two o'clock, the boat was seen returning, with the signal that no answer had been sent; on which, the order was given, and every ship bore up to its appointed station.

The Queen Charlotte led to the attack, and, at half-past two, anchored near the mole-head; her starboard broadside flanking all the batteries from thence to the lighthouse: the mole was crowded with troops and others, many of whom had climbed on the parapet to look at the ships; and lord Exmouth, observing them, as he stood on the poop, beckoned to them several times with his hand to induce them to retire, but without effect: as soon as the ship was fairly placed, the crew gave three hearty cheers; and scarcely had the sound of the last died away, when a gun was fired from the upper tier of the eastern battery, followed by a second and a third in quick succession; but the report of this last was drowned in the thunder of the Queen Charlotte's broadside, which is stated to have swept off more than 500 men from the crowded mole. The admiral was immediately followed by the *Leander*, which placed herself on his larboard bow, at the entrance of the harbor; while the rest of the British fleet passed on, and took their appointed stations; the Dutch, as it had been concerted, anchoring before the works to the southward of the town: eastward of the lighthouse, at the distance of 2000 yards, were placed the bomb-vessels, whence shells were thrown with admirable precision by the marine artillery; while the flotilla of gun, rocket, and mortar boats, directed by captain Mitchell, were distributed at the openings between the line-of-battle ships, and at the entrance to the mole. This disposition of the vessels, commanding the strongest of the enemy's defences, while they were exposed to the weakest part of his fire, gave great confidence both to officers and men: all behaved admirably; and it was not long before the state of the enemy's batteries exhibited a proof of their skill and courage.

Before the fight had become general, the Queen Charlotte had demolished the fortifications on the mole: then, drawing her broadside more to the northward, she soon brought down the tower of the light-house; and gun after gun fell from the

demolished batteries : the last of these was dismounted just as the artillerymen were in the act of discharging it ; and an Algerine chief was seen to spring on the ruins of the parapet, shaking his scimitar, with impotent rage, against the ship.⁶ Not long after the battle had fairly commenced, the enemy's flotilla of gun-boats advanced with daring courage, under cover of the smoke, to board the Queen Charlotte and Leander ; but as soon as they were seen, a few guns, chiefly from the latter vessel, sent thirty-three out of the number to the bottom. Some time before this, lord Exmouth despatched a message to his brave coadjutor, Von Capellan, to express the satisfaction he felt at the direction and effect of his fire on the southern batteries ; which, by taking their attention from the Queen Charlotte, enabled that ship to command the mole, and all the enclosed vessels. At four o'clock, when a general and heavy cannonade of more than an hour had produced no signs of submission, his lordship determined to destroy the enemy's ships : accordingly, the nearest frigate was boarded, and fired so effectually with laboratory torches, and a carcass-shell placed on the main-deck, that she was completely in flames almost before the barge's crew were over her side : as, however, she burned from her moorings, without communicating the conflagration to other ships ; the gun-boats, with the Queen Charlotte's launch, opened with carcass-shells on the largest frigate, moored in the centre of the flotilla ; when, notwithstanding all the exertions of the enemy, she was set on fire, and soon communicated the flames, not only to the surrounding vessels, but to the store-houses and arsenal : at about seven, she came drifting from the harbor, passing close to the flag-ship, and almost involving her in the same destruction.

About sunset, a message was received from the rear-admiral, requesting the presence of a frigate, to divert from the Impregnable some portion of the terrible fire to which that vessel was exposed, and which had already killed or wounded 150 of her crew. The Glasgow immediately weighed ; but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she could not get up to render the assistance required : permission was then given to the Impregnable to haul off ; but a British crew, animated by such leaders as admiral Milne and captain Brace, would not permit their ship so to go out of action ; and she kept her station to the last. Toward night, the fleet slackened its fire, as the enemy's guns became silenced ; the ships also began to

⁶ Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 324.

feel the necessity of husbanding their ammunition ; for they had already expended almost 218 tons of powder, and 50,000 shots, weighing more than 500 tons of iron ; with 960 shells and rockets.⁷ Under such a concentrated and well-directed fire, the sea-defences of Algiers, and great part of the town, lay a shattered heap of ruins.

At a little before ten, the objects of the attack having been effected, the Queen Charlotte's bower cable was cut, and her head hauled round to sea-ward ; but she still continued to fire her guns abaft the mainmast : warps were run out to gain an offing ; but many were cut by shot from batteries to the southward, and others on heights which the ships' guns could not reach. A very light air was felt about half-past ten, and sail was made ; but the vessel was not manageable, except by aid of boats ; and the only point gained, was that of keeping her head from the land : at eleven, however, she began to draw out from the batteries ; and in about half an hour more she ceased to fire. The breeze now freshened ; a tremendous thunder-storm came on, with torrents of rain ; and heaven's own artillery seemed as if it was directed against the dwellings of iniquity : in about three hours, the tempest ceased ; and lord Exmouth assembled in his cabin all the wounded that could be safely moved, to join with him and his officers in thanksgiving to the Almighty for their victory and preservation. In no former action had the casualties been so great in proportion to the force employed, though no single ship in the present conflict suffered very severely, except the Impregnable : the British had 128 killed, and 690 wounded ; our Dutch allies, thirteen in the first list, and fifty-two in the second ; while the loss of the enemy was estimated at not much less than 7000.

On the twenty-eighth, at daybreak, lieutenant Burgess was sent on shore with a flag of truce, carrying the same demands as were made on the preceding morning : in the mean time, the bomb-vessels took up their former position ; and it was the opinion of all the consuls, that if the fire had been reopened, two more hours would have seen the whole city in ruins. The walls were already cracked ; even the aqueducts were broken up, and the people perishing for want of water : soon, however, the captain of the fort, accompanied by the Swedish consul, came off, and informed lord Exmouth that all his terms would be agreed to ; even that most humiliating demand of a public apology from the dey to the British

⁷ Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 328.

consul, in the presence of his own ministers and officers. Above 1200 slaves were embarked on the thirty-first; making, with those before liberated through the address of lord Exmouth, more than 3000 rescued from a life of torture. Having sent them to their respective countries, and left a ship to receive a few who had not yet come up from the interior, he sailed on the third of September for England, where his services were acknowledged in a manner worthy of his exalted merit: he was advanced to the dignity of a viscount, and received an honorable augmentation of his arms: the kings of Holland, Spain, and Sardinia conferred on him their highest orders of knighthood: the city of London voted him its freedom, and a sword ornamented with diamonds, which was presented by the lord mayor, at a banquet very appropriately given by the ironmongers' company, as trustees of an estate left by a Mr. Bretton, for the ransom of christian slaves in Barbary: he received the freedom of the city of Oxford, with the honorary degree of D.C.L. from that university; also an elegant gold medal, of which only four were struck, from the prince regent; while a society, lately established at Paris under the auspices of Sir Sidney Smith, for promoting the liberation of christian slaves, caused a medal to be executed in commemoration of his victory. The promotion which followed was on the usual scale; but lord Exmouth considered it so inadequate to the extraordinary merits of the junior officers, especially those in the flotilla, which had been commanded chiefly by mates and midshipmen, that he never rested until he had procured an extension of it from the admiralty: he even submitted to their lordships a list of the officers whom he thought intitled to promotion, drawn up in a manner easy for reference, marking at once his discrimination of their merits, and the warm interest which he took in their welfare. It is not very satisfactory to add, that the half-measures taken by the British government, which ever since the revolution had been proverbial for its ignorance of the manners, customs, constitution, nay, even the geographical situation of foreign countries, failed in producing any permanent effect on a tribe of desperadoes, whose very religion teaches them to laugh at treaties made with Christians. The dey soon paid the penalty of his defeat; being strangled, a few months afterwards: piracy again flourished; slavery was re-established; and Algiers luxuriated in its old system, until its barbarian hordes dared to insult the majesty of France.

In the early part of this year, Mr. Canning, who was lately returned from Portugal, to which country he had been sent ambassador with an enormous salary, though there was neither a sovereign nor a court to receive him, entered again into office as president of the board of control: those, however, who were anxious for his consistency of character, could not contemplate, without regret, his official subordination to a statesman, whose policy differed from his own, and whom he had publicly denounced as deficient in capacity for any station of high responsibility: indeed, he soon felt himself in trammels; and was at length constrained to dissolve a connexion which he found incompatible with his honor.

If the glory of our navy was this year augmented by the brilliant result of its expedition to Algiers, British science obtained a triumph no less signal, but far more durable, in Sir Humphrey Davy's splendid discovery of the 'safety-lamp,' which has rescued thousands from a dreadful death in the subterranean chambers of the earth. From an analysis of the gas from which such destructive effects had proceeded, he found it to be carburetted hydrogen, which would not explode, if mixed with less than six, or more than fourteen times its volume of atmospheric air; that neither red-hot charcoal, nor red-hot iron, were capable of exploding it; and that the explosive mixture could not be fired in tubes of one-seventh of an inch diameter, when they were opened in the atmosphere; while metal tubes prevented explosion better than those of glass. On these principles he proposed four lamps,—the safety-lamp, the blowing-lamp, the piston-lamp, and the charcoal-lamp; the first three of which are all extinguished, when the air within becomes explosive. The efficacy of all these contrivances was proved by experiment in real fire-damp; but as the extinction of the light in the three most important compelled the workmen to quit their labor, Sir Humphrey felt that his invention was not yet complete: he therefore continued his inquiries, and at length perfected the lamp now used; in which the light, extinguished at the moment of danger, is raised within the wire gauze into a brighter flame, enabling the miner to pursue his work. Such briefly was the progress of this great invention; one of the finest examples known of inductive and experimental research; one of the most valuable presents which science ever made to man: its utility was every where recognised; it was honored by the medals of the royal society, by a magnificent service of plate from the earl of Durham and other proprietors of collieries, and by a beautiful silver-gilt vase

from the emperor of Russia, together with a letter expressing his admiration of the important discovery.

In March, an expedition, fitted out for the purpose of exploring the interior of Africa, sailed under the command of captain Tuckey; but the pestilential climate of the country proved fatal to that distinguished officer and several of his companions. The year 1816 will be ever memorable to the lovers of art, from the purchase made by parliament of those noble specimens of sculpture which lord Elgin brought from Athens. A select committee had been appointed by the house of commons to consider the subject; and after taking the opinion of the most eminent artists and connoisseurs, all of whom classed these marbles among the most exquisite remains of antiquity, they recommended the sum of £35,000 to be paid as the price of their acquisition. These, together with the *relievos* discovered by Mr. Cockerell at Phigalia, and which had previously been purchased at the expense of £15,000, form a splendid school of sculpture, as it existed in its best days; a noble study for the creation and perfection of British artists.

At the opening of the session of parliament in 1817, the regent alluded to existing discontents, and to their cause, which he lamented was not of a nature to admit of an immediate remedy: he adverted to the splendid success of our navy at Algiers, and the consequent abolition of christian slavery; praised the fortitude of the people in the trials which they endured; and, considering the great sources of national prosperity essentially unimpaired, expressed a confident expectation that the native energies of this country would, at no distant period, surmount all the difficulties in which it was involved. The annual estimates, he observed, had been formed with an anxious desire to effect all the reductions in our public establishments that were consistent with safety and true policy; but his royal highness regretted that there had been a deficiency in the produce of last year's revenue; though he trusted that this proceeded from temporary causes, and had the consolation to believe that it would be found practicable to provide for the service without making any addition to the burdens of the people. A lamentable comment on this speech soon followed its delivery; for the prince, on his return from the house, through the Park, was assailed by a violent mob, distressed by their sufferings, and taught to believe that his royal highness was insensible to their complaints. Stones and other missiles were directed against his carriage, the windows of which were broken by what the attendants conceived to be

bullets discharged from an air-gun ; but none were discovered, after the most diligent search. This gross and criminal outrage was communicated to the peers by lord Sidmouth, when all consideration of public business was deferred till the following day, and a conference held with the commons, at which a joint address was drawn up, congratulating the regent on his escape : a proclamation also was issued, offering a reward of £1000 for the apprehension of the offenders ; but these contrived to escape discovery.

Next evening, earl Grey moved an amendment to the address, chiefly for the purpose of expressing an opinion that his royal highness was under a delusion regarding the degree and probable duration of the pressure on our national resources, which was declared to be far more extensive in its operations, more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more difficult to be moved, than any which had prevailed at the termination of former wars. To this declaration was added a profession of regret, that the prince regent should not have been sooner advised to adopt measures of rigid economy and retrenchment, particularly with respect to our military establishments ; also a resolution that the house should go immediately into a committee on the state of the nation. This amendment was negatived without a division ; while a similar one, previously moved in the commons, was rejected by 264 votes against 112 : no long time, however, elapsed before the eyes of all were opened to the necessity of making large retrenchments, and of reducing taxation.

On the third of February, a message was communicated to both houses, announcing that the prince regent had ordered the production of papers which contained an account of certain meetings and combinations held in various parts of the country, tending to disturb public tranquillity, to alienate the affection of the people from his majesty's person and government, and to overthrow the whole frame of the laws and constitution : his royal highness recommended these papers to the immediate consideration of parliament ; and they were accordingly referred by each house to a secret committee. Another communication, different in its nature, was made to the commons by lord Castlereagh on the seventh of the same month, previously to his moving for the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the income and expenditure of the state. His lordship said, that he had it in command from the prince regent to announce, that, sympathising with the sufferings of a generous people, he had determined on a cession of £50,000 per annum

from that part of his income which was connected with his personal expenses, as long as the present difficulties should continue: at the same time, his lordship declared the intention of ministers to dispense voluntarily with one-tenth of their official incomes, while the necessities of the state should require such a sacrifice. The marquis Camden, one of the tellers of the exchequer, also determined to relinquish the large profits of that sinecure office, retaining only £2500 per annum, the regulated income of future tellers. It was thought that his lordship's example would have provoked other wealthy sinecurists and pensioners to relieve the overburdened exchequer; but no such effects proceeded from this splendid instance of generous patriotism; until, in the year 1836, lord Sidmouth signalled his old age by the relinquishment of his official pension. On a reduced scale, the expenditure for the year was estimated at less by £6,500,000 than that preceding it; and a farther saving of more than £1,000,000 was calculated on for 1818. The sum of £500,000, in exchequer bills, for public works and fisheries in Great Britain, as well as £250,000 out of the consolidated fund, for similar purposes in Ireland, was voted, in April, as means of alleviating the public distress.

The first report of the committee of inquiry into income and expenditure, regarding the abolition of sinecures, was made on the fifth of May; when Mr. Davies Gilbert stated, that in recommending the suppression of certain offices, it was at the same time necessary that his majesty should be enabled to reward meritorious persons, by the power of granting pensions according to the duration of service and the exertions of individuals: a bill, intitled 'The Civil Services Compensation Bill,' was accordingly introduced, with another for abolishing the offices of wardens and justices in Eyre; and these passed through both houses with little opposition. At the end of May, Mr. Abbott, finding his health unequal to his laborious duties, resigned the high office of speaker, and was created lord Colchester, with a pension of £4000 to himself and his immediate successor: he was of a sprightly, epigrammatic turn of mind, but fond of show, and stately in his manner: having distinguished himself, both at Westminster-school, and at Oxford, as a classical scholar, and shown much intelligence and diligence in financial committees, he was taken into favor by Mr. Pitt. In the house, he displayed great knowledge of its forms, with equal firmness in putting them into force; and as he possessed an extraordinary memory, with a calm discriminating judgment, he made a very able and useful speaker;

never relaxing from his attention, nor departing from his dignity. Mr. Charles Manners Sutton, eldest son of the archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed to the vacant chair; so that, while this gentleman stood at the head of the commoners of England, his father presided over the spiritual peers, and his powerful relative, the duke of Rutland, was most conspicuous among British nobles for that borough influence which gave its possessors a power of dictating to the government. What could be refused by ministers to a family compact like this?

Notwithstanding the expectation of coercive measures to be adopted by administration, a multitude of the lower orders, headed by Henry Hunt and his friends, met, under the pretext of petitioning for parliamentary reform, in Spa-fields on the tenth of February; and a similar meeting was held three days afterwards in Palace-yard: nothing remarkable, however, occurred on either occasion. On the eighteenth of February, in the house of lords, and on the following day in that of the commons, the secret committees presented their reports: these commenced, by stating a conviction that treasonable conspiracies had been formed in the metropolis and other parts of the empire, which aimed at the total subversion of law and government, as well as the indiscriminate plunder and division of property: the various steps taken by seditious agitators were diligently traced out in their meetings public and private; in the circulation of addresses; in the purchase or manufacture of arms, tricolored cockades, and banners; in exertions made to seduce the soldiers; and in communications regularly held between the conspirators of the metropolis and confederates in other parts of the empire, with an intent to effect a general and simultaneous rising of the people: reference also was made to the existence of societies, under the title of 'Hampden Clubs,' 'Spencean Philanthropists,' and other factions, to extend the plans of anarchy under the guise of constitutional proceedings; also to the administration of secret oaths; to extraordinary measures taken by the conspirators for preventing a discovery of their plots; and to the dispersion of seditious, blasphemous, and inflammatory publications, calculated to destroy all moral and religious feelings, as well as to excite hatred and contempt for existing institutions: finally, the committees expressed a decided opinion that the civil power, as at present constituted, was insufficient to preserve the peace under such circumstances as had been stated.

Notwithstanding some vagueness of expression, as well as

some artifice and exaggeration in these reports ; notwithstanding the efforts, and even the success of public disturbers, in throwing discredit on authorities, and ridicule on green-bags ; it must be confessed, that the constitution was at this time violated on the popular side ; and that the security, both of the throne and of the altar, was threatened by a lawless mob, instigated by designing demagogues. The celebrated acts, which were subsequently passed by the legislature, however they may appear to infringe on the liberty of the subject, were effectual in saving this country from insurrectionary violence and bloodshed, if not from the horrors of anarchy.

The first consequence of the above reports was the apprehension of four persons—the elder Watson, Preston, Hooper, and Keene, who were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason : a reward of £500 was also offered for the apprehension of a man named Thistlewood, who fled from the charge, but was soon taken and lodged with his associates. In the upper house, lord Sidmouth made a motion for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act until the first of July next ensuing ; when a bill to that effect, with a protest by eighteen peers, on the ground that the existing laws were adequate to the danger, was passed, and ordered to the commons : it there went through its different stages with great rapidity, and received the royal assent on the fourth of March. Lord Castle-reagh also gave notice of farther measures to protect the country against the arts and machinations of disaffected persons : these were an extension of the act of 1795, for the security of the king's person, to that of the regent ; the revival of an act of the same year against seditious meetings ; a renewal of the act of 1795 against corresponding societies ; and a re-enactment of that regarding the seducing of soldiers and sailors from their allegiance. Numerous petitions against these restrictions on public liberty, or rather on public licentiousness, particularly against the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, were presented to parliament : in each house also, in every stage of their rapid progress, they were opposed : but a large majority both of lords and commons coincided in the alarm expressed by government ; so that all attempts at mitigation in the committee failed ; and the acts themselves received the sanction of the legislature.

The suspension of the *habeas corpus* struck an unexpected blow against the hopes and plans of the apostles of reform out of doors : in consequence of it, Mr. Cobbett, who, in the most unequivocal terms, and in that language which he could so well adapt to the taste and comprehension of the people, had

told the laboring classes that the remedy for oppression and taxes lay in their own hands, deemed it prudent to retire to America: he promised however to return, as soon as England should be again under the protection of her constitution, and in the mean time to transmit his Weekly Register from the land of his exile: he had scarcely departed, when several weekly publications started up, some of them as violent in language, and as outrageous in doctrines, as the Register had been; but far behind it in talent, and in the power of exciting the populace to mischief.

When the peers assembled after the Easter recess, it was ordered, on the motion of lord Grey, that a copy of a circular letter recently addressed by the secretary of state for the home department to the lord-lieutenants of counties, relative to seditious or blasphemous publications, be laid before the house. In this document, lord Sidmouth stated, that, as it was of the utmost importance to prevent the circulation of such works, he had consulted the law officers of the crown, to know whether a person, found selling or publishing them, might be brought immediately by warrant before a justice of the peace, to answer for his conduct; and their opinion was, that a magistrate might not only issue his order for the apprehension of such an offender, but hold him in bail to answer the charge: under these circumstances, the attention of the lord-lieutenants was earnestly called to the subject; and they were requested to notify such opinion to the chairmen of the quarter sessions, in order that magistrates might be led to act on it. On the production of this circular, earl Grey addressed their lordships in a speech replete with legal information; in which he contended against the principle, that a justice of the peace might be called on by any common informer to decide what was or was not a libel, and to commit or hold to bail, on his sole judgment, the party accused: his lordship also asserted, that such a specific intimation to magistrates, regarding the mode in which they were to construe the law, even supposing the law itself to be clear and undisputed, would have been a high offence against the constitution. The noble earl's motion, which was for the production of a case that had been submitted to the law officers for their opinion, was strongly supported by lords Erskine and Holland, but opposed by lords Ellenborough and Eldon, who carried a majority of the house in their favor; and it was negatived on a division by seventy-five against nineteen: a similar decision was given on the subject in the house of commons, when introduced by Sir Samuel Romilly,

As the country still continued in a disturbed and alarming state, messages were again sent to both houses from the regent, on the third of June; and the papers produced in consequence, were, as before, referred to secret committees. That of the lords reported, on the twelfth, that after a full consideration of the statements laid before them, they were of opinion that the spirit of tumult and insurrection, which gave rise to the bill for suspending the *habeas corpus* act, had by no means subsided; and it was only through its operation, aided by the vigilance of the magistrates, and their communications with the government, that such spirit could be kept down; also that active preparations were still going on, with a view to subvert the constitution; and that the continuance of the said bill for six months longer was absolutely necessary for the public security. The report of the committee of the lower house traced the history of several plots at Manchester and in Derbyshire; and concluded with observing, that confidently as they relied on the general loyalty and good disposition of his majesty's subjects, even in those districts where the spirit of disaffection appeared most strong, they could not but express their conviction, that it was not yet safe to rest intirely for the preservation of tranquillity on the ordinary powers of the law. It was admitted, in the reports, that the evidence laid before the committees, had been derived, in a great measure, from the depositions and communications of individuals more or less implicated in the transactions under consideration, or of such as had insidiously engaged in them with a view of giving information to government: this employment of emissaries and spies, sent down among a starving people in the guise of delegates, was vehemently attacked as an atrocious system, stimulating and suborning crime for the very purpose of denouncing it: but ministers strenuously defended the course which had been taken; and a farther suspension of the *habeas corpus* act to the first of March, 1818, was carried by a large majority.

One feature of this session was a committee on the poor laws, which after sitting for a considerable length of time, with Mr. Sturges Bourne for its chairman, made its report in July. Not much new light was thrown on the subject; for the object of those who took on themselves, or were instructed by government, to manage this committee, seemed to be that of neutralising every topic as much as possible, and of keeping as near the shore as they could; ministers being embarrassed on the subject, and anxious to avoid experiments: it seems however extraordinary, that after this report no steps were immediately

taken to amend, at least, the law of settlement, which abounded with evils that could not be denied: but there was a feeling among too many of the nation, that the poor laws were fundamentally so impolitic and bad, that to soften their evils would be to delay their final abolition; an event, to which they fondly and absurdly looked.

Another, and still more distinguishing feature, was the speech, in which Mr. Brougham submitted to the house of commons four resolutions on the state of commerce; when he not only exposed the false system on which parliament had long legislated, but taught and enforced those principles of commercial science, which, adopted as they were afterwards by the more enlightened of the ministry, repealed the navigation laws, and liberated trade. 'The period,' he said, 'is now arrived, when, the war being closed, and prodigious changes having taken place over all the world, it becomes absolutely necessary to enter on a careful but fearless revision of our whole commercial system; that we may be enabled safely, yet promptly, to eradicate those faults which the lapse of time has occasioned or displayed; to retrace our steps, where we shall find that they have deviated from the line of true policy; to adjust and accommodate our laws to the alteration of circumstances; to abandon many prejudices, alike antiquated and senseless, unsuited to the advanced age in which we live, and unworthy of that sound judgment which distinguishes this nation.' Adverting to the navigation law, he says,—'Whatever may have been the good policy of this law, I am quite clear that we have adhered to its strict enactments for a century after the circumstances which alone justified its adoption have ceased to exist.'

Before the prorogation of parliament, which took place on the twelfth of July, the financial state of the year seemed to improve: the funds rose above twelve per cent.; corn was sold at a good price; and money began to be plentiful both on mortgage and on discount: the Bank of England also began to pay voluntarily in cash; and the chancellor of the exchequer expressed his opinion confidently, that nothing but some extraordinary shock in the political or commercial system would prevent the restriction of cash payments from being taken off in July, 1818. The prorogation of parliament took place on the twelfth of July.

The disturbances at Manchester, alluded to in the last report of the secret committee of the commons, were of a very extraordinary description: a large body of persons, calling themselves friends of parliamentary reform, and urged by the reso-

lution of despair, determined to proceed unarmed to London, in order to set forth and explain their distress to the regent in person ; for which purpose each individual provided himself with a blanket and a small stock of provisions : such crowds however assembled on the appointed day at Manchester, that the civil powers thought it expedient to call out the military for assistance ; when a party of dragoons, accompanied by the magistrates of the district, appeared, and having surrounded a scaffold on which stood the principal instigators of this design, seized and carried them off. Two men, named Johnson and Ogden, who acted as leaders of the mob on former occasions, had been arrested the preceding morning ; and the latter of these worthless persons subsequently acquired much notoriety from an alliterative expression applied to him by Mr. Canning in reference to a bodily infirmity, under which he was laboring ; and which subjected that eminent statesman to the most virulent and galling attacks, during the whole of his political career. Though the crowd had been dispersed, a considerable number set out on their mission to the metropolis ; but not more than 500 proceeded as far as Macclesfield, where a troop of yeomanry had remained to provide against contingences ; but nothing could be more wretched than the appearance of these outcasts : some actually fainting through fatigue, and all without baggage or any resources to sustain them on their march, penetrated into Staffordshire ; and there ended what has been quaintly termed the 'Blanketeering Expedition.' At this time, the general distress of the country, the alarm of ministers, the disposition inherent in subalterns to abuse extraordinary powers, as well as the profligate arts of spies and informers, filled the jails with objects of suspicion or of crime : many were released as arbitrarily as they had been committed ; while the more prominent leaders were detained in custody, or sent for greater security to the metropolis. These proceedings contributed much to the exacerbation of parties ; acts of justice were confounded, on one side, with acts of violence ; while that species of alarmists which was glad to turn the fears of others to party purposes, contended that nothing but the most coercive measures could put down a revolutionary scheme which was tending towards universal confusion. In the month of June, the prisoners in the Tower were arraigned on a charge of high treason : the trial of Watson, which was taken first, lasted several days, and was attended by the leading members of opposition. The prisoner was ably defended by Messrs. Copley and Wetherell ;

and the principal witness for the crown was an accomplice or spy, named Castles : he underwent direct and cross examinations at great length, and deposed to acts of unequivocal treason and conspiracy ; but the infamy of his character, as well as several improbabilities in his narrative, deprived his testimony of credit, and the jury brought in a verdict of ' Not guilty,' amid the reiterated cheers of an immense multitude, by which the very avenues to Westminster-hall were filled. On the failure of this case, the others were abandoned, and the prisoners discharged. During this summer, the turbulent disposition of the manufacturing classes exhibited itself in several of the midland and northern counties ; when it was thought expedient to appoint a special commission to sit at Derby for the trial of offenders : the first four arraigned were convicted ; nineteen others were allowed to plead guilty, on the understanding that mercy would be extended to them ; and against twelve the attorney-general declined to call evidence. Twenty-three of these deluded men received sentence of death ; but three only, Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner, suffered the extreme penalty of the law. To the machinations of a government spy, named Oliver, many of them ascribed the criminal acts into which they had been led ; and the employment of such persons, whose interest led them to foment the plots which they undertook to reveal, was generally condemned. The last of these ministerial efforts was the prosecution of Mr. Hone, for some political parodies of the Litany and other parts of our church service, as blasphemous libels. The defendant acted as his own counsel ; resting his plea chiefly on the ground that such parodies were strictly political, and had the negative sanction of uniform toleration ; and he cited a very considerable number, which had appeared at different periods, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. On this trial, which took place before Mr. justice Abbott, he was acquitted ; but as there were two more indictments remaining, lord Ellenborough undertook to preside in the court, and interdicted Mr. Hone from pursuing the same line of defence ; since blasphemy, like other offences, derived no sanction or protection from previous impunity. It was supposed that the greater experience and authority of the chief justice would impose silence on the accused, and obtain a conviction from the jury ; but a greater mistake was never made : Mr. Hone, in the conflict that ensued, exhibited a union of self-possession, energy, and readiness of argumentation, which have rarely been surpassed in a court of justice : during a struggle of many hours, he succeeded in

bringing out portions of his obnoxious defence, at one time by artifice, and at another by clamor; while the overbearing authority of a judge, whose conduct on the bench was generally thought, whether justly or unjustly, to have a strong political bias, gained an easier admission for his vehement appeals to a British jury. A second verdict of 'Not guilty' was returned; and the chief justice came to the charge next day exhausted and depressed: the contest, on his part, now became more languid; and an appeal made to the merciful forbearance of the defendant was even heard from the bench. A third verdict of acquittal ensued; and lord Ellenborough never recovered the shock given to his health, and the mortification to his spirit, in these remarkable trials. A large subscription, supported by the names of several distinguished persons, was set on foot to reimburse Mr. Hone for the expense, trouble, and fatigue to which he had been subjected by so many prosecutions; and it is satisfactory to add, that the patronage he received, and the fame he acquired, appear to have infused a spirit into his moral character; engaging him in literary pursuits, and withdrawing him from that disgraceful career, into which he had so recklessly plunged.

Foreigners at this time began to compare Great Britain to a stately but strained vessel, which, after having weathered the fury of the storm, sinks amidst the heaving waves, before their agitation can subside: little however did they know of that vitality which is inherent in the British constitution, or of that elasticity with which the sons of freedom can repair disasters: little did they know of that numerous body of men existing in this kingdom, possessed both of property and intelligence; men placed between the extremes of power, ever liable to exalt itself, and of ignorance, ever liable to be led astray; who were thus disposed, under the blessing of Providence, to be the main safeguard of Britain's grandeur and prosperity. These troubles after a time subsided, to be succeeded by others far more alarming in their aspect; but none have been able to sink the vessel of the state: one of the most striking effects, however, produced by the distress incident to those times, was the determination taken by the people to search into its causes, with a view to more legitimate modes of relief: thousands began to study the nature of our constitution, who had never before thought on such a subject; and in proportion as knowledge increased, the outworks of privilege and prescription gave way; and the strongholds of party were shaken by the increasing energy of constitutional reformers.

In a country like Great Britain, a correct knowledge of the state of its political parties, who during particular periods take a regular share in the proceedings of parliament, is essential to the right understanding of its history. The circumstances which raised the ministry to power, and reduced the numbers of opposition to insignificance, may be summed up briefly in two particulars;—the unexpected success of the former in opposing Napoleon; and the want of prudence in the latter, when political power was either in view, or within their grasp. Although ministers were confessedly men of inferior talents, compared with the great statesmen of former times; and took the helm of government in times of unparalleled difficulties, whether we regard political events, or the state of our commerce and finances;—they exhibited, during those difficulties, great steadiness, and adhered to a line of conduct which required perseverance rather than activity: thus, allowing Buonaparte to destroy himself by his own measures, and holding themselves ready to take advantage of his errors, they acquired much popularity, and retained it unbroken till the events of this year considerably loosened their hold on the affections of the people. No one of the cabinet party suffered in this respect more than lord Sidmouth; who, being secretary of state for the home department, was supposed to be more concerned in the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and the subsequent measures of coercion, than any of his colleagues: a strong suspicion also of lord Castlereagh's principles began to manifest itself; for it was thought that his love of political freedom, and his attachment to the purity of political principle, had not been strengthened by his long and intimate connexion with the continental potentates during the latter period of the war: his conduct however was at least uniform and consistent; but this could hardly be said of Mr. Canning, who had joined an administration, for the chief members of which he had expressed the most sovereign contempt; while his speeches in parliament, able and dexterous as they often were, did not sufficiently impress his hearers with a conviction that they proceeded from principle and feeling.

The opposition, however, was not in a state to take much advantage of circumstances which lowered ministers in the eyes of the people: they had been once in power, and twice had it within their grasp; but at no period did they conduct themselves with prudence, or in such a way as to secure the confidence of the nation. Mr. Fox had lost some of his popularity before he came into office in 1806, not so much by his oppo-

sition to the war with France, as by his backwardness to rejoice in victories gained by British valor: but his union with lord Grenville, and a notion that his easy temper would yield too much to his lordship's politics, destroyed a more considerable portion of it: on his death, lord Grenville's influence being much increased, the whig ministry became still less popular; nor did the cause of their quitting office obtain for them that favor which they missed by omitting to pursue measures of economical and political reform, while they were in possession of the cabinet. At the time of the regency in 1811, and afterwards at the death of Mr. Perceval, they might have come into power; but they raised up so many obstacles, that it almost seemed as if they were desirous of some excuse to decline it: since the latter of these periods, the successful termination of the war, contrary to their uniform predictions, weakened their influence both in and out of parliament; while the death of their most eminent leaders, of whom they had lost four, distinguished for zeal and talent,⁸ within the last two years, almost reduced their ranks to a state of insignificance.

Ministers at this time frequently reckoned on lord Grenville's friends for support, and still oftener on the religious party under Mr. Wilberforce; though, on some important occasions, this latter was opposed to them. A new and important class of men, which had lately sprung up in the house, though classed with opposition, was disposed to go much farther on points of innovation and reform: at the head of these was Mr. Brougham; and even his principles were carried out to a still greater length by lord Cochrane and a few others, much inferior in acuteness and political knowledge. The great distinction between the creed of the regular opposition, of which Mr. Tierney was now regarded as a principal leader, and that of the reformers, was this:—the former thought that the machinery of the government, as then constituted, was good, and efficient for all useful purposes; the latter contended that this machinery was so ill-constructed, and so much out of repair, that no talents, skill, or attention could make it work well. Opposition wished for retrenchment to a certain extent, and for a change in some parts of our domestic and foreign policy; but they did not desire to touch, except slightly and superficially, the house of commons as then constituted: the reformers, on the other hand, wished to change the state of

⁸ Sheridan and Whitbread, Horner and Ponsonby.

representation materially, and at once; contending that from such a house originated all the distress under which the country was laboring, and that infringement on liberty, which was felt with indignation. They did not however proceed to the length of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, advocated by lord Cochrane, and supported out of the house by the veteran major Cartwright, Cobbett, and Hunt: these contended, that all the evils under which Great Britain lay—excessive taxation, with its consequent poverty and misery—extravagance in the expenditure of the public money—in short, every species of mal-administration, arose from a radical defect in the very formation of the house of commons; maintaining, that if the members of that house were chosen annually, and by universal suffrage, they would be more intelligent, more pure, and, consequently, better able and disposed to legislate solely for the good of the nation. We may briefly observe, that this opinion took for granted, first, that the great mass of the people were so enlightened and pure, that they would select men of the most enlightened minds and pure principles to be their representatives; next, that of all great questions brought before parliament, the people were adequate judges; for according to the projected plan of reform, the constituents were to instruct their members, and the latter on all important points to follow those instructions: it may be doubted whether it be possible ever to bring the lower orders of a state to such a degree of intelligence, not to say purity, as this scheme requires. The moderate reformers, however, conscious that even their plans, to be effective, must rest on the foundation of a more liberal and enlightened education, applied themselves earnestly to the great work of reforming the people by such a system: men were encouraged to attend to the cultivation of their understanding; by which they soon began to perceive that they had a capacity above the grovelling pursuits of sense: hence the desire of proceeding farther, and of storing their minds with interesting and useful knowledge, increased; while the habit of reflecting more on their best interests increased also: but as it would have been worse than useless to have taught the people to read, and implanted in them a desire to learn, without giving them the means of gratifying that desire in an innocent and beneficial manner, great exertions were subsequently made in the establishment of libraries and various institutions, suited to the parties whom they were intended to benefit; and these led ultimately to the publication

of those numerous elementary works for the general diffusion of useful knowlege, which brought the acquisition of it within the reach of all classes.

Toward the close of the year, public attention was diverted from the conflicts of party and the machinations of the disaffected, to an event which was felt by the whole nation as a great calamity: the princess Charlotte, the idolised hope of a free nation; she, whose looks of health and smiles of joy were hailed with heart-felt satisfaction by her future subjects; expired on the sixth of November, after giving birth to a still-born child. The death of this amiable princess has been ascribed to the indecision of her medical attendant: in a dreadful state of exhaustion, produced by a long and severe labor, she was suffered to remain without the slightest stimulant, when the strongest should have been administered; in consequence of which neglect, nature was unable to rally; the royal sufferer gradually declined; and the hopes of the nation merged in acute and lasting sorrow: brief however as were her days, she cannot be said to have lived in vain, whose life was a forcible illustration of the union of happiness with virtue.

On the thirteenth of February, the new silver coinage, ordered last year, was put into circulation; and so rapid was the exchange of the old for the new, that in a few days all was dispersed without creating the slightest confusion. In July, there was a new coinage of gold pieces, called sovereigns, value twenty shillings each, weighing five penny-weights, two grains, and three quarters. The anniversary of the battle of Waterloo was this year distinguished by the opening of that magnificent bridge over the Thames, which was thus converted into a national monument to the valor of our army: the prince regent, and the duke of Wellington, with a large concourse of nobility and gentry, graced the procession. The total length of this structure, with its approaches, from the Strand to St. George's-fields, is 2890 feet; the length of stone work from bank to bank being 1240: the breadth within the balustrades is forty-two feet, divided on each side by a footway of seven, leaving twenty-eight for the carriage road: it has nine arches, each 120 feet in span; while its harmonising straight line, running parallel with the water line, gives to it that simple elegance and grandeur, which is not equalled by any work of this description in Europe: the whole exterior is executed in durable Cornish moor-stone; and the intire cost did not fall short of £1,260,000. Two dreadful accidents occurred this year, which strikingly illustrate the necessity of prudence both

in the adoption and rejection of inventions: a small steam-packet between Norwich and Yarmouth, using a high-pressure engine, and endeavoring to increase its speed, was blown up; when, out of twenty-two passengers, eight were killed, and many seriously injured: the other occurrence took place at Harraton-colliery, near Durham, where an obstinate man, disdaining to make use of Sir H. Davy's admirable invention, carried a lighted candle into the mine; when an explosion took place, by which thirty-eight men and boys lost their lives: so great was its force, that although the pit was eighty-two fathoms deep, two bodies were blown from the bottom into the open air, as if they had been projected from an enormous piece of ordnance.

France was this year relieved from one fifth of the army which occupied its territory. At the election of members for the chambers, the most unworthy arts were adopted by the ministry; but six of the eight elected for the department of Paris were in the popular interests, and government was altogether in a minority: notwithstanding the presence of a foreign force, it was thought necessary to suspend the law for securing personal liberty, and to revive for a time the jurisdiction of prevotal courts for the sake of summary proceedings against seditious persons. In Germany, great discontents manifested themselves, especially among students at the universities: those of Jena invited the rest to send deputies to the Warteburg near Eisenach, on occasion of the celebration of the battle of Leipsic, where they met in large numbers, on the seventeenth of October: the professors and students present went in solemn procession next day to the Warteburg, where an harangue was delivered by one of them; who, after calling to their recollection the great day on which the sun of German freedom rose, observed how little the result had answered the expectations which the people were intitled to form; for no prince had yet performed the promise publicly made, except him in whose territories they were then solemnising the festival. They afterwards burned, at a kind of *auto da fe*, several obnoxious works, as well as instruments and other monuments of old German slavery; and, before they broke up, they pledged themselves to each other, on the sacrament, that they would conscientiously endeavor to carry into execution the obligations which they had imposed on their consciences. In Prussia, a strict censorship was exercised over all political publications; and the Rhenish Mercury, a journal which had obtained extensive circulation, was suppressed. The

states of Wurtemberg advanced constitutional claims for the confirmation of the king; but he refused to grant them, dissolved the assembly, and took the administration of the finances into his own hands. In Austria, the pecuniary embarrassments of government were very great; and in Spain also the finances were in a very distressed condition, which the want of cordiality between the governors and the governed was little calculated to relieve: in Valencia, the people raised the cry of 'the Constitution!' and were with difficulty reduced to submission; while at Barcelona, a formidable conspiracy was detected: the fanatical Ferdinand, in the mean time, signalled his catholic zeal by prohibiting all books which impugned the authority of the pope, or the holy tribunal of the inquisition. In South America, the contest was protracted with various success; but the thread by which the authority of Spain was there held became evidently more slender. In Brazil, the court evinced little disposition to return to Europe; and as Portugal was thus degraded into the rank of a tributary state, a plan for the establishment of an independent government was secretly agitated, but was soon discovered, and, like those in Spain, terminated fatally to its chief promoters. In the United States, Mr. Monroe succeeded Mr. Madison as president; and the country rapidly recovered from the temporary pressure which its recent war with Great Britain had occasioned.

CHAP. LIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1818.

Opening of parliament—Speech of the commissioners, &c.—Lord Castlereagh's motion for secret committees preparatory to a bill of indemnity—Strenuously opposed, but carried—Reports of the same—Indemnity bill carried—Grant of one million for the building of churches—Bank restriction extended to July 5, 1819—Negociation with Spain to discontinue the slave trade north of the line—Royal marriages, &c.—Supplies—Alien act—Sir Samuel Romilly's attempt to repeal part of the act against privately stealing in shops, &c.—Motion for a committee by Mr. Brougham to inquire into the education of the poor—Dissolution of parliament—State of the manufacturers of Lancashire—General election—Deaths of Sir Samuel Romilly, lord Ellenborough, and queen Charlotte—Ecclesiastical and judicial returns—Increase of forgeries—Price of consols—Bankruptcies—Wager of battle—Determination to pull down Carlton-house, &c.—Congress of Aix la Chapelle, evacuation of France by the allied forces, &c.—Meeting of new parliament—Duke of York appointed guardian to his majesty—Committee on the criminal code—Measures taken for the resumption of cash payments—Financial statements—Catholic claims—Foreign enlistment act—Reversal of a bill of attainder against lord Edward Fitzgerald—Slave trade—Emigration—Close of the session—General distress consequent on the alteration of currency—Seditious assemblages—Meeting at Manchester: its dispersion by the yeomanry cavalry attended with loss of life—Imprisonment, trial, and sentence of Hunt and his accomplices—Popular discontents—Meeting of parliament—Evidence on the disaffected state of the manufacturing districts—Restrictions on public liberty—Parliamentary reform—Cession of Parga to the Turks—Continental politics—South American provinces—Public improvements.

THE sixth and last session of the existing parliament was opened by commission on the twenty-seventh of January: the speech was chiefly remarkable for the confident tone in which ministers congratulated the nation and themselves on the return of public prosperity and tranquillity; and it concluded

with a recommendation that additional churches should be built, 'to meet the increased population of the country, and to promote the religious and moral habits of the people.' The address in the upper house was unanimously agreed to: that in the commons also was carried without a division, but not without animadversion from lord Althorp and Sir Samuel Romilly, who strongly deprecated the demoralising system of *espionnage*, as well as the arbitrary imprisonment and tyrannical persecutions which had been lately carried on by government.

On the fourth of February, lord Castlereagh, by royal command, brought down to the house a bag of papers relating to the internal state of the country, and proposed the appointment of a select committee for their examination; but as this was understood to be a preliminary step to a general bill of indemnity for every measure taken by ministers under the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, by which all persons who had been imprisoned and discharged without trial would be debarred from any legal remedy,—the motion for a committee was strenuously resisted by the opposition, who contended that a very different sort of inquiry was called for by the conduct of administration: but though the green bag and its contents called forth much lively sarcasm, especially from Mr. Tierney, the committee prayed for was appointed, and a similar one was agreed to in the upper house. On the twenty-third of February, this latter made a report, which related chiefly to the recent disturbances in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and York; to the progress of insurrection, and the check which it had received by various arrests and trials; as well as to the necessity which existed for continued vigilance against a spirit of conspiracy, which was still active, especially in the metropolis. The report proceeded to state, that forty-four persons appeared to have been arrested, under warrants from the secretary of state, who had not been brought to trial, but that such arrests were justified by circumstances; and no warrant of detention appeared to have been issued except in consequence of information tendered on oath: the persons detained, but not prosecuted, had been at different times discharged; and government seemed to have exercised the powers with which it had been invested with discretion and moderation. On the twenty-fifth, the duke of Montrose brought in a bill of indemnity, founded on this report; which, after the rejection of an amendment proposed by the marquis of Lansdowne, was carried by a large majority. When introduced to the house of

commons, on the tenth of March, by the attorney-general, it was strongly opposed by Sir Samuel Romilly, who contended that it was improperly called a bill of indemnity: the object of indemnity was only to protect individuals against public prosecution, without interfering with the rights of private persons; but the purport of this bill was to annihilate such rights; to take away all legal remedies from those who had suffered under an illegal and arbitrary exercise of authority. Mr. Lambton, after some forcible observations, moved an amendment, that it be read again that day six months; which, however, was rejected by a majority of a hundred and ninety to sixty-four: it was read a second time on the following day; but the chief discussion took place on the order for committing it, when several petitions, complaining of grievous oppression, were presented to the house; but the allegations contained in them were for the most part grossly exaggerated, distorted, or false. The case chiefly relied on, and which was frequently dressed up afterwards to awaken or keep alive indignation against the tyranny of administration, was that of William Ogden, which represented 'that he was seventy-four years old, with seventeen children; that he had been confined nine months under manacles thirty pounds in weight, which dislocated his arm; that, suffering under a distressing complaint, he had cried out bitterly for assistance; but that no one came to him for sixteen hours, during which time he suffered the most excruciating torture.'

Now it turned out that not a syllable of this statement was true: the man had expressed his gratitude for the kind treatment which he received during his confinement; having been cured, at the public expense, and with great humanity, of the infirmity under which he had been laboring for twenty years. Mr. Canning, having exposed the abominable falsehoods which pervaded these documents, exclaimed in a tone of pardonable triumph, and without justly exposing himself to the charge of inhumanity;—'The case of the revered and ruptured Ogden may be a very fit one to be brought before the Rupture Society; but to ask for it the decision of parliament, is a daring attempt on our credulity:' yet this harmless pleasantry, which, so far from trifling with human suffering, was merely intended to expose its hypocritical assumption for a base and malignant purpose, was magnified into a crime against human nature, and an outrage on the feelings of the assembly which it insulted; while an anonymous pamphlet, which affected the style of Junius, concluded its invectives and denunciations with the

following threat:—‘If I should ever be a prisoner of state; and, after being maimed by your jailers, should be assaulted by your jokes;—I will put you to death with the same deliberation as I now give you timely warning: this is no idle, although it is a defensive menace; nor is the resolution confined to one individual: *idem trecenti juravimus.*’

In answer to this attack, Mr. Canning, who was of a very susceptible temperament, addressed a short and explicit note to the anonymous author, through his publisher; in which he observed,—‘To you, sir, whoever you may be, I address myself thus directly, for the purpose of expressing to you my opinion, that you are a liar and a slanderer, and want only courage to be an assassin. I have only to add, that no man knows of my writing to you; and that I shall maintain the same reserve so long as I have any expectation of hearing from you in your own name.’ The writer, however, refused to unmask: but Sir Philip Francis, to whom the pamphlet, on account of its style, had been attributed, voluntarily came forward, and disclaimed, not only the authorship, but any knowledge of the transaction. The indemnity bill was read a third time on the thirteenth of May, and passed by a majority of eighty-two votes against twenty-three.

According to the recommendation conveyed to parliament in the speech of the commissioners, a sum of one million sterling was granted this session, to be raised by exchequer bills, for the purpose of supplying the want of churches, and chapels of ease, where the increase of population rendered such accommodation necessary: a considerable sum was also raised by subscription in furtherance of this important object. Desirable as it always must be to keep the places of worship for members of our establishment on a par with the population, the equity of a parliamentary grant for such a purpose may perhaps be questioned: when various sects of professing Christians complain that they are taxed for the maintenance of our established church, they may be met with an irresistible argument;—that the tithes and lands set apart for such a purpose are a tax on no man: they were settled on the church centuries ago by persons who had an unqualified right to give or bequeath their property for this or any other lawful purpose: in fact, instead of being a tax, they are an alleviation of taxation; they provide for all ranks convenient places of divine worship, at free cost, with ministers qualified to promote it: nay, more; they place in every parish a person, on whom it is incumbent to administer comfort and consolation, both to the bodily and

spiritual wants of his poor neighbors: but in the present day, when a sum of money is voted by parliament for the augmentation of churches, a portion of it is taken, against their will, from many who dissent from the doctrines or discipline of our establishment: it is not probable therefore, that recourse will be again had to such a method of remedying an acknowledged evil: hence the necessity of encouraging that more legitimate mode of private subscription, which, to the credit of our establishment and government, has been promoted by the foundation of a church-building society, the funds of which are augmented, from time to time, by king's letters addressed to every officiating minister throughout the realm: of late years, diocesan societies have sprung up in aid of the parent institution; and a spirit has been awakened, which, with God's blessing, bids fair to free the established church from this source of danger.

At an early period of the session, Mr. Grenfell inquired of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether any occurrence was likely to prevent the Bank resuming cash payments in July; observing, at the same time, that the public stood in the situation of debtor to the Bank for £3,000,000 advanced without interest, and for £6,000,000 at an interest of four per cent; but as the Bank had secured possession of a balance of the public money deposited in their hands, which, for the last twelve years, had amounted on an average to £11,000,000, for the repayment of these sums, he asked whether any arrangement was made for discharging, or placing them on a better footing. Mr. Vansittart, in reply, stated, that the Bank had made ample preparation for resuming its payments in cash at the time fixed by parliament; but that pecuniary transactions were going on with foreign powers, which might probably require an extension of the restriction: with respect to the loan of £6,000,000, he should, ere long, submit a proposal for its repayment, allowing the country still to enjoy the benefit of that on which no interest was paid. On a future day, in submitting some propositions to a committee of the house, he observed, that in January, 1817, the Bank had given notice of its readiness to pay in specie outstanding notes of a particular description, for which cash to the amount of about £1,000,000 might have been demanded; but a very inconsiderable sum was called for. At that time gold bullion was reduced to £3. 18s. 6d., and silver to 4s. 10d. the ounce: in October, notice was given that the Bank was ready to pay in cash all notes dated prior to January, 1817, but the result was very

different; for upwards of two millions and a half were drawn out, of which scarcely any portion now remained in circulation: this arose from the large remittances to foreign countries, consequent on the importation of corn, the residence of Englishmen on the continent, and the negociation of a loan in this country by France: it now therefore became inexpedient for the Bank to resume cash payments; and the restriction was continued till the fifth of July, 1819. The treaty with Spain, by which, in consideration of a subsidy of £400,000, she consented to abolish the slave-trade on all the coasts north of the line, retaining however the privilege of continuing it indefinitely to the south of that limit, received the sanction of parliament: for each nation a right of search was stipulated; but no detention of vessels was to take place, unless when slaves were found actually on board.

The death of the princess Charlotte, and consequent failure of a direct succession to the crown, seems to have instigated several members of the royal family to enter into the marriage contract: the duke of Clarence was united to the princess of Saxe-Meiningen; the duke of Kent to the princess of Leiningen, sister of prince Leopold; and the duke of Cambridge to the princess of Hesse. Suitable provisions for the royal pairs were made by parliament, at the recommendation of the regent; but though ministers came to the house on this occasion ready to propose the most extravagant grants, the strong observations addressed to lord Castlereagh by Mr. Tierney induced the noble secretary to modify his intended propositions: indeed, a motion made for allowing the equitable sum of £10,000 per annum to the duke of Clarence, was met by an amendment, which was carried, limiting the grant to £6000, as well as to his royal brothers: through a conciliatory appeal of his lordship, a like sum was voted, as a provisionary réversion to the duchess of Cumberland.

The supplies of this year were estimated at £20,952,400: to meet which, in addition to the ways and means, a three and a half per cent stock was created to the amount of £14,000,000; so that no new taxes were levied, nor any additions made to the old ones. The alien act was continued for two years; it being considered necessary to keep out, as well as to send out, of Great Britain, persons who might avail themselves of the vicinity of France, to excite a spirit hostile to the security of this and other European governments. That enlightened legislator, Sir Samuel Romilly, introduced a bill to do away with the capital part of the act respecting privately stealing in shops, &c.; setting forth in his preamble the maxim, that ex-

treme severity of punishment tends to procure indemnity for crime: the attorney-general, horror-struck at this general principle, besought the house to expunge it; but the authority of Sir Samuel, who declared that the acts of modern legislation recognised no principle whatsoever, while he wished to pursue the reasonable course of setting forth in the preamble that on which his bill was founded,—carried both through the commons: but when this measure of sound policy was presented to the lords for their concurrence, the cry against innovation was reiterated from the woolsack: the bill was rejected; and a measure of great and salutary efficacy was postponed for many years, until it was taken up by a more fortunate statesman. The present was the sixth time that the house of commons had agreed to abolish the punishment of death in the case of stealing in shops and warehouses under a certain amount; and for six times had lord Eldon's resistless influence with the lords succeeded in averting such improvement from the laws of criminal justice: in the same manner, he opposed the abolition of capital punishment for the offence of stealing from the person; but as that measure had been sanctioned by the legislature, he drew the following conclusion from it in opposition to the present bill, when it was first proposed:—'You have already,' said his lordship, 'committed enough of mischief by the forty-eighth of George III.: for God's sake, take care what you do! the prosecutions are now twenty to one, as compared with what they were under the old state of the law: there is a bounty given to crime, and crime accordingly increases.' Who would impute to a man of lord Eldon's mild and benevolent disposition a spirit of sanguinary and gratuitous severity? but it is worthy of remark, how the adoration of 'things that be' can blind a vigorous intellect; when he was unable to perceive that the number of prosecutions had increased, not that of crimes: it was, in fact, one of the main objects of the bill to induce men to prosecute; and twenty would naturally be impelled to seek for a mitigated penalty, when scarcely one would demand the capital punishment: his lordship, however, clung to an old system, with an obstinacy which wanted only a good cause to become perfect heroism: eloquence and argument might carry the outworks of his citadel, or even beat the venerable fabric about his ears; but he would disdain to hear of terms.

Before the close of this session, Mr. Brougham succeeded in his motion for a committee of inquiry respecting the education of the poorer classes;—the first step toward that system of popular instruction, in which this eminent person has effected so

much. Fourteen commissioners were to be appointed by the crown, six of whom were to have no salaries: but the bill underwent many alterations in its passage through the upper house, where lord Eldon used all his influence against it; recommending the poor, with a simplicity peculiar to himself, to seek a redress of grievances against the rich in the court of chancery! in that court, which, second only to the evil of intestine war, facilitated the usurpation of property; reduced widows and orphans to the necessity of begging their bread; and, by its insuperable forms of delay, racked the brain of manhood, until insanity relieved the wretched suitor from the horrors of a judicial purgatory! The commissioners to be appointed by Mr. Brougham's bill were limited to the investigation of charities connected with education: they were precluded from investigating the state of education among the poor generally; and they were directed to traverse the country, and to call witnesses before them, without possessing any authority for enforcing attendance, or for demanding the production of documents. Mr. Brougham observed, that the bill, as it now stood, left every thing to the good will of those who had an interest at variance with the inquiry; yet good might still arise from the exercise of the powers possessed by the house itself: the means to be used were, that the commissioners should proceed and call witnesses; that they should report occasionally to the house, and make returns of all persons refusing to give information, or to produce documents, without just cause of refusal; and the committee, which would be re-appointed next session, might be empowered to call those individuals before them.

Parliament was dissolved on the tenth of June by the regent in person, who concluded his speech with congratulations to both houses on the manifest improvement which had taken place in the internal circumstances of the country, and which promised to be steadily progressive: distress, however, though mitigated, still prevailed; and the cotton-spinners, and other classes of manufacturers in Lancashire, remained in a state of organised opposition to their masters on the subject of wages: from this cause several partial disturbances arose; one in particular at Burnley, and another at Stockport; but through the prompt exertions of the Manchester yeomanry, these irruptions were suppressed without bloodshed: it is probable, however, that considerable bitterness of feeling was mutually excited between the yeomanry and the lower classes, which subsequently burst forth with calamitous fury. A kind of diversion from present troubles was created by the general election which took place

this summer. Sir Samuel Romilly, the enlightened statesman, the philosophic lawyer, and the eloquent advocate of every noble and generous cause, was returned for Westminster without personal solicitation, or any species of patronage; but he had not long been honored by this testimony of public approbation, when, overcome by a severe domestic calamity which unsettled his reason, he put a period to his existence. About the same time, the nation suffered another loss in one of its highest judicial functionaries: toward the latter end of the year, lord Ellenborough, who had for sixteen years presided over the seat of criminal justice, resigned that exalted situation; and quitted the scene of life on the thirteenth of December: his advancement had been extremely rapid; but his early path had been trodden with great care and diligence: to a bold and manly address, a discriminating intellect, and a nervous eloquence, he added deep application, and patient study of his profession; while he possessed, in a high degree, that feeling of superiority, which is almost sure to command success: in his court he was sometimes harsh and hasty, and his temper was such as might have led many men of less capacity into error; but the sight of his mind was so clear and quick, that he penetrated a question and its solution, before many would have comprehended the terms in which it was proposed. His adversaries charged him with an inclination towards arbitrary principles; but the chief cause of such an imputation, was that utter scorn of popular applause which he always exhibited: another perhaps arose from his frequent visits at Carlton-house, with the royal master of which he was on terms of closest intimacy. Mr. justice Abbott succeeded his lordship on the bench, with increasing honor to himself, and advantage to the public. The death, however, of a still more exalted personage this year remains to be recorded. In consequence of the queen's declining state of health, two amendments had been made in the regency bill last session; the one empowering her majesty to add six members to her council, resident at Windsor, in the event of her own change of residence; the other repealing a clause, which rendered a new parliament necessary in case of her demise. These amendments were opportunely made; for, after a lingering illness of six months, borne with becoming fortitude and resignation, her majesty expired at Kew on the seventeenth of November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. The character of queen Charlotte would scarcely require comment, had not the spirit of the times, particularly during the latter part of her life, cast

on it much and unmerited obloquy : the truth is, that her disposition was formed rather to secure respect than to command affection : though her sense of decorum might border on austerity, and her love of economy carry her a little beyond the bounds of regal propriety ; yet proofs are not wanting of her readiness to assist distress and to patronise merit : she possessed a strong and sound judgment ; using her influence with much discretion, and declining all anxious or busy interference in affairs of state : as a wife and mother, she was a pattern to her sex ; and during the long period in which she presided over the British court, she preserved it from the contamination of vice, notwithstanding the dangers proceeding from the licentious example of other European dynasties ; and from that moral relaxation, which our own rising prosperity was calculated to produce. Her majesty's remains were interred, on the second of December, in the magnificent vault of St. George's chapel ; prepared by him, whom a merciful Providence now preserved from the knowlege of those ravages, which death was making among the dearest objects of his affection.

During this year, returns were made to parliament respecting our ecclesiastical establishment in England and Wales ; when the number of benefices was found to be 10,421, and that of churches and chapels 11,743, for a population of 9,940,391 : the glebe houses fit for residence amounted to 5417 ; the total number of benefices not exceeding £100 per annum was 2274 ; while those of £150 and under reached the number of 3503.⁹ In the present year also, tables were made out for a considerable number of years past, relating to prosecutions for forging on, or passing forged notes of, the Bank of England ; and the result turned public attention strongly to the necessity of the great remedy for this increasing evil, in the resumption of cash payments. Within the two years and two months immediately preceding the twenty-fifth of February, there had been fifty-six capital convictions on this account, and 288 prosecutions : juries also now began to show an unwillingness to bring in a

⁹ One of the greatest evils of our establishment seems to be the disproportion between the highest and lowest classes of its benefices : this however is now about to receive some alleviation from the wise regulations of a church commission. In noticing the efforts making to remedy this evil, it would be unjust to pass over the disinterested conduct of Dr. Monk, the present bishop of Gloucester ; who, ever since his advancement to the bench, has appropriated one tenth of the gross revenue of his see to the augmentation of its small livings.

verdict of guilty against parties accused : two at the Old Bailey, on the fifth of December, acquitted the persons tried before them, because the clerk of the Bank refused to explain the marks by which he believed the notes to be forged.

The revenue of the country was this year less by £14,000,000 than its expenditure ; yet the three per cent consols rose as high as 81½, and closed in December at 79. The total number of bankruptcies in 1818 was 1056, which was a decrease of 519 from that in 1817 ; and the amount of money deposited in the savings banks, up to the thirteenth of July, was £1,254,021. This year, an extraordinary case of law was decided in the court of king's bench : Abraham Thornton had been tried at Warwick assizes for the murder of Mary Ashford, and acquitted ; circumstances however appeared so strong against him, that the verdict of the jury was deemed unsatisfactory, and an appeal against it was laid by William Ashford, brother of his supposed victim : on this, a wager of battle was demanded by the accused, who cast down his glove in open court, according to ancient custom, defying the accuser to mortal combat : so unusual a procedure determined the court to take time in considering the case ; and on the sixteenth of April, it decided that the law gave to the accused a right to his wager of battle ; but the appellant, who was quite a youth, and very inferior in bodily strength, declined the challenge, and the defendant was discharged : in the next session of parliament, however, a law passed to repeal trial by battle, as well as appeals in the case of murder.

While the regent was indulging his capricious taste in architecture and upholstery at Carlton-house, aided by a council of professional men and amateurs, the decease of her majesty took place : Buckingham-house then became disposable ; and it was determined by the prince and his council to take down Carlton-house altogether, and convert the queen's house into a palace for the residence of the British monarch : this resolution was important, from the additional impulse given by it to architecture, which, of all the arts, has of late years been most encouraged in Great Britain ; and from the consequent improvement of its now splendid metropolis.

In order to complete the design of the allied sovereigns, as far as could be done by outward forms, there was still wanting a full and perfect reconciliation with France : after arrangements, therefore, had been made with that country for a discharge of the pecuniary engagements into which she had entered, it was notified to her ministry, by the congress sitting at Aix-la-

Chapelle, that the military occupation of her territory would cease: accordingly, this measure was carried into execution in October, and France adopted into the alliance: at the same time, a declaration of the principles which actuated this great monarchical confederacy, was published; asserting that its object was not directed towards any new political enterprises, nor intended to disturb any relations already subsisting between the powers, and consecrated by the various treaties now in force: in its steady and peaceful course, it was said to aim at nothing so much as the preservation of tranquillity, while it engaged to observe strict obedience to the maxims of popular right; since the constant application of those maxims to a permanent state of peace afforded the only effectual guarantee for the independence of each separate power, and the security of the whole confederation. Faithful to these principles, the allied sovereigns undertook to observe them in the various conferences which might from time to time be held, either between themselves or their respective ministers; promising that they would never cease to labor in strengthening and perfecting the work which they had so far completed; while they solemnly acknowledged, that their duty toward God and their subjects imposed on them the obligations of justice, unanimity, and moderation.

If this declaration had confined itself to the real object of the alliance,—the preservation of peace in connexion with legitimacy,—it would, at least, have had the credit of sincerity and consistency; but when it talked of the maxims of popular right, as guiding the allied sovereigns, while they tolerated the weak and wicked conduct of the *beloved* Ferdinand in Spain, it allowed people to suppose that sinister motives and ambitious views were concealed in the back-ground.

The new parliament assembled on the fourteenth of January, when Mr. Manners Sutton was re-elected speaker of the commons without competition, and chief baron Richards took his seat on the woolsack in consequence of the lord chancellor's indisposition. Among other topics, the royal speech alluded to the favorable state of the revenue, and to the improved aspect of trade, commerce, and manufactures; while the public income still fell short of the expenditure by £14,000,000; and the most serious disturbances which had yet harassed the country were fermenting in the very heart of the manufacturing districts: mention also was made of the extension of the commercial treaty now existing between this nation and the United States of America, to a farther term of

eight years. Ministers were severely handled in the upper house by lord Lansdowne, and in the lower by Mr. Macdonald ; the latter of whom treated as extravagant their representations of the state of the country in the speech and address ; describing them as distinguished by egregious political blunders, and great military success ; as unable to arrive at an opinion on such leading questions of government, as the currency, the poor laws, law reform, or the catholic question ; and as sustained only by the divisions of party, between the public apathy on one side and public disgust on the other : in both houses, however, the addresses were agreed to without a division.

As the queen's demise rendered it necessary that a guardian of his majesty's person should be appointed, lord Liverpool named the duke of York ; and the propriety of his nomination was universally admitted : but a second proposition, that the duke should receive a salary of £10,000 per annum out of the public purse for the performance of this filial duty, was met with vehement opposition, and carried by only a small majority. Several debates subsequently took place respecting the establishment at Windsor, the expenses of which excited much freedom of remark both in and out of parliament ; it being represented as a mockery of the national distress, no less than of the melancholy visitation of the royal personage himself, kept up for the purpose of ministering to the prodigality of a prince, and to the rapacity of courtiers.

The English character is far from being distinguished by a tendency to cruelty ; yet perhaps no nation ever sustained greater reproach on that score from foreigners than our own, chiefly through the severity of our laws, which enacted the punishment of death for so large a catalogue of offences. But to prove how little this reproach was merited, it may be sufficient to state, that an evil of great magnitude had arisen from the very merciful disposition of the nation, shown, not only in its aversion to prosecute offences, but in the inclination both of judges and juries to save the offender from the operation of a barbarous system of criminal jurisprudence : thus crimes increased, in proportion as men found they might commit them with impunity.

The state however of our criminal code had for some time occupied the attention of parliament, under whose notice it had frequently been brought by Sir Samuel Romilly, one of the few English lawyers who could ascend from puny details to general principles, and combine a generous eloquence with a

practice of the law. Over this genuine philanthropist the grave had unfortunately closed; but it is one of the glories of Britain, that no great national scheme can be frustrated by a single loss: the branches on each stem of her noble constitution are numerous as well as healthy:—*Uno avulso, non deficit alter Aureus*. In the present instance, the enlightened views disclosed by Sir Samuel Romilly were followed up by Sir James Mackintosh; nor could the cause have fallen into better hands. A petition from the corporation of London, complaining of an increase of crimes, and pointing out the advantages likely to ensue from the commutation of capital punishments for others less vindictive in their nature, was referred to a committee, appointed, on a motion of lord Castle-reagh, for the examination of prison discipline: it was thought, however, by persons best informed, and most deeply interested in the business, that, for the due consideration of so extensive and important a subject as the penal code, a distinct committee should be formed; and to that effect, Sir James Mackintosh made a motion on the following day. After setting forth a variety of observations and facts, illustrating the system of subterfuge, which the extreme severity of our law in many cases had produced among prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, with the consequent impunity of offenders and increase of crime; he denied any intention of recommending a new criminal code, or of abolishing a system admirable in its principles, and interwoven with the habits of the people: he did not even propose to lay aside capital punishment; on the contrary, he regarded it as a part of that right of self-defence with which societies are endowed: he held it to be, like all other punishments, an evil when unnecessary; but capable, like them, of producing, when sparingly and judiciously inflicted, a preponderance of good: he aimed not at the establishment of any universal principle: his sole object was, that the execution of the law should constitute the majority, and its remission the minority of cases. Sir James subsequently divided the cases connected with capital punishment into three classes; those in which it was always, those in which it was frequently, and those in which it was never put in force: he proposed to leave, at present, the first and second division untouched: the third, comprising no fewer than one hundred and fifty different crimes, ought, he conceived, to be expunged from the list, as a monument of barbarous times, disgraceful to the character of a free and enlightened nation. Lord Castle-reagh complimented the mover of this question, on the

candid and moderate spirit in which he had brought it forward; nevertheless, his lordship persisted in opposing, as unnecessary, the appointment of a separate committee: other members, however, warmly supported the motion, which was ultimately carried by 147 votes against 128; and before the close of the session, the committee, of which Sir James was chairman, having examined evidence, reported progress on this interesting subject of inquiry.

A period had now arrived, when it was impossible to defer any longer a consideration of the national currency. At the commencement of the war, in 1793, a transfer of labor from peace to war employments caused a great derangement among the productive classes; and to another transition, from a state of war to one of peace, was ascribed by the ruling powers of the day all the distress which occurred in 1816: it is undeniable, that an abrupt diversion of capital from its usual form of employment is always attended with loss, and commonly with distress; but other causes were in operation at the time, which must have produced great distress if the war had continued: the transition from a state of war to peace undoubtedly added to the distress; but it was by no means the sole cause of it.

When, through agricultural distress, country notes were extensively withdrawn from circulation, the Bank of England was urgently pressed for an extended accommodation; and, being relieved from immediate apprehension of having to pay in gold, it materially extended its issues: now, had the war continued under these circumstances, it is very likely, that when low prices had taken the superabundance of grain out of the market, they would have recovered; country bank notes might again have been put out to as great an extent as before; the currency might have been even more depreciated than in 1812; and the mint standard of value might, in the end, have been altered: in this way, it is quite possible that a continuance of the war might have given rise to a measure which would have had a beneficial effect in relieving the people from a part of the burden of fixed money payments: but it was considered that peace rendered preparation necessary for returning, at no distant period, to the old metallic standard of value, and for repealing the Bank restriction act: hence, not only did the Bank of England begin to reduce the quantity of their paper in circulation, and to increase their stock of gold; but country bankers were compelled to limit their issues, since they also would be more liable to be called on to pay in gold: such

considerations, no doubt, induced a more cautious issue of notes; and the quantity of the currency was kept down nearly to what it would have been, if the exports had been suffered to draw gold from the commercial world to furnish a metallic currency for Great Britain. The bill, commonly called 'Peel's bill,' passed this year; and it caused such preparation to be made, as removed a depreciation of sixteen and a half per cent from the currency of 1816, and three or four per cent from that of 1817 and 1818, and at last restored it to its old standard value: but any farther alterations in the value of the currency, and of general money prices, are attributable, not to Peel's bill, but to other causes, which would have had the same powerful influence on the exchangeable value of gold, if that bill had not passed. Peel's bill enacted, that the Bank of England should be liable to pay their notes in gold in 1823, and in the interim to pay them in gold bars at standard value, of not less than sixty ounces weight: but the Bank, having acquired a large stock of gold in 1821, commenced paying in coin on the twenty-first of May of that year; and thus terminated the period, during which, under the sanction of law, the currency was depreciated by an excessive issue of paper, which increased its quantity beyond that which would have been determined by the supply of gold. The celebrated bill, however, above alluded to, being one of the most important, and most canvassed, of all that are contained in our statutes, demands a more circumstantial account of the manner in which it was brought forward and carried.

A motion by Mr. Tierney, on the second of February, for a committee to inquire into the effects of the Bank restriction act, was met by an amendment from the chancellor of the exchequer, directing an investigation of the state of the Bank of England, with reference to the expediency of its resumption of cash payments at the appointed period; such information to be reported by the committee as might be disclosed without injury to the public interests. The first report was brought up by Mr. Peel on the fifth of April; and it represented, that the Bank, having been induced to pay in specie all notes issued previous to 1817, had been drained of cash to the amount of more than £5,000,000, most of which had found its way to the continent, where it had been recoinced; and, that to prevent this drain continuing, and to enable the Bank to accumulate a larger store of bullion, with a view to the final resumption of cash payments, it was expedient to restrain the farther payment of the notes alluded to in specie: a bill was accordingly brought

in ; and the standing orders of the house having been suspended, it was passed through its different stages the same evening. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Manning, one of the Bank directors, attributed the drain on the Bank, and the efflux of our specie to the continent, to the French loan, as well as to a deficient harvest ; corn having been imported into this country to the amount of £10,000,000. In the upper house, lord Harrowby moved the suspension of the standing orders, that the bill might pass through all its stages at one sitting ; which earl Grey and others opposed at considerable length, contending, that, if necessary, ministers would have done better by issuing an order of council to suspend the Bank payments on their own responsibility : next day, however, the bill was read three times, and passed. A similar measure was also carried for the protection of the Bank of Ireland. The second report was presented on the fifth of May, when two bills were passed, founded on a plan recommended by the committee, for a gradual return to cash payments ; and of which the principal provisions were, that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of the restriction ; while preparatory measures should be taken, with a view to facilitate and ensure, on the arrival of that period, payment of the promissory notes of the Bank of England in legal coin of the realm ; that provision ought to be made for the gradual repayment of £10,000,000, being part of the sum due to the Bank on account of advances for the public service ; that, from the first of February, 1820, the Bank shall be liable to deliver, on demand, gold of standard fineness, having been essayed and stamped at the mint ; a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required in exchange for notes, at the rate of four pounds one shilling per ounce ; that, from the first of October, 1820, the Bank shall be liable to deliver gold at the rate of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence per ounce ; and, from the first of May, 1821, at three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny ; that the Bank may, at any period between the first of February and the first of October, 1820, undertake to deliver gold, as before mentioned, at any rate between the sums of four pounds one shilling, and three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence per ounce ; and at any period between the first of October, 1820, and the first of May, 1821, at any rate between the sums of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence, and three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny per ounce ; but that, such intermediate rate having been once fixed, it shall not be subsequently increased ; that from the

first of May, 1823, the Bank shall pay its notes on demand in the legal coin of the realm; and that it is expedient to repeal the laws prohibiting the melting and the exportation of the coin.

Another select committee was appointed, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, to inquire into the income and expenditure of the country; from which he anticipated a very favorable result. The receipts for the year, ending on the fifth of January, 1818, were £51,665,458, while those for the following year were £54,620,000, showing a large increase on the latter: but there were certain arrears of war duties on malt and property, which reduced the income of 1818 to £49,334,927; while the arrears to January, 1819, amounted only to £566,639: the expenditure was also less by about £650,000 than was expected; so that the result was, as his lordship said, 'a total surplus of £3,558,000, applicable to the reduction of the national debt. If one million were allowed for the interest on the loan, there remained two millions and a half of surplus revenue.' Mr. Tierney observed, that an old debt on the sinking fund, of £8,300,000, which must be liquidated before the surplus in question could be made available for the expenses of the current year, had been altogether kept out of view. The various taxes, taken together, exceeded £7,000,000; but this was the extreme amount, applicable to the army, the navy, the ordnance, and miscellaneous services: how then could it be possible, he asked, that with an income of only £7,000,000, and an expenditure of £20,000,000, both ends could be made to meet, and a surplus be left? Would it not be a gross delusion, to speak of the sinking fund as applicable to the public service, while government was obliged to borrow £13,000,000 a year to support it? The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that this statement included certain particulars, which could not be admitted in making a fair comparison: by taking the whole charge of the consolidated fund and the sinking fund, it had been shown that our expenditure considerably exceeded our receipts: this must necessarily be the case, as so great a part of the war taxes had been abolished. Parliament had thought fit to relieve the country from fifteen millions of taxes, and thus unavoidably prevented the effect which would have resulted from the redemption of the debt by these fifteen millions annually. With respect to any plans of finance for the present year, he should reserve to himself the power of adopting that which the situation of public affairs rendered most expedient.

On the third of June, Mr. Vansittart submitted a series of financial resolutions, which stated, that by the removal of certain taxes, the revenue of Great Britain was reduced by £18,000,000 ; that the interest and charge of the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland exceeded the whole revenue of that country by £1,800,000 ; that it was necessary to provide, by a loan or other means, for the service of the present year, the sum of £13,000,000, which, deducted from the sinking fund of £15,000,000, reduced it to only £2,000,000 ; and that, for the purpose of raising this sinking fund to £5,000,000, it was absolutely necessary to impose new taxes to the amount of £3,000,000 annually : this sum parliament ultimately agreed to raise by a considerable duty on foreign wool, and by smaller duties on other articles, such as tobacco, tea, coffee, and cocoanuts. Two loans, of twelve millions each, were also raised ; one of them supplied by the monied men, the other derived from the sinking fund : out of these sums there was to be a surplus, of which £5,000,000 were to go toward repayment to the Bank, recommended by parliament previous to the resumption of cash payments ; and £5,597,000 to the reduction of the unfunded debt. In adopting this course, observed the speaker, in his address to the regent at the close of the session, ‘ his majesty’s faithful commons did not conceal from themselves that they were calling on the nation for a great exertion ; but well knowing that honor, character, and independence have at all times been the first and dearest objects of Englishmen, we felt assured that there was no difficulty that the country would not encounter, no pressure to which she would not cheerfully submit, in order to maintain pure and unimpaired that which has never yet been shaken or sullied—her public credit and good faith.’ After numerous petitions had been presented to parliament, both for and against the claims of the Roman catholics, this great question of internal policy was again brought before the commons by Mr. Grattan, on the third of May. The causes of disqualification, he asserted, were of three kinds : the combination of the catholics ; the danger of a pretender ; and the power of the pope : he insisted, that not only all these causes had ceased, but that the consequences annexed to them were no more ; and he concluded by moving for a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the laws by which oaths or declarations are required to be taken or made as qualifications for the enjoyment of office, or the exercise of civil functions, so far as the same affect the Roman catholics ; and whether it would be expedient to alter or modify them.

The motion was lost, on a division, by a majority of only two, in a very full house. On the seventeenth, a corresponding motion was submitted to the peers by the earl of Donoughmore, who contended that the state of the catholic question had been much altered: all anti-christian principles and uncharitable surmises were disallowed by its opponents; and the great objection was limited to an arguable supremacy, which was supposed to be inherent in a foreign state: if he were allowed to go into the committee, he would first get rid of the declaration, and next dispose of the oath of supremacy; when there would remain no vestige of such tests, except the oath of abjuration, now of no practical use, as it referred to a non-existent family. The bishop of Worcester opposed the motion, on the ground of danger to the church and state; which danger, it was argued by the bishop of Norwich, did not exist; and we ought to remember the precept of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us. The bishop of Peterborough declared, that if the present were merely a religious question, it should have his support; but, it was evident, the grand object of the catholics was political power. The earl of Liverpool denied that concession would have the effect of allaying animosities in Ireland, or that the interests of the great mass of the people would be promoted by it in the smallest degree: the lord chancellor also strenuously opposed the motion, chiefly for the oft-refuted reason, that the catholics could give no security by oath, which could reconcile the king's supremacy in things temporal with the pope's supremacy in things ecclesiastical: on a division, the motion was negatived by 147 against 106. Another effort, in behalf of the catholics, was made in the upper house by earl Grey, but without effect. As the reduction of our army at the termination of the war left a great number of officers ill provided for and unemployed, many, and those principally subalterns, went out to aid the common cause of independence in South America. A remonstrance on this account, made by the Spanish ambassador, occasioned the introduction of a bill, by the attorney-general, to prohibit British subjects from enlisting into a foreign service, or equipping vessels of war without license. The first of these objects, he observed, had been in some measure provided for by the statutes of George II. which made it felony to enter into the service of any foreign state: if neutrality, however, was to be observed, it was important that the penalty should be extended to the act of serving unacknowledged as well as acknowledged powers; part of his intention therefore was to

amend those statutes, by introducing, after the words 'king, prince, state, potentate,' the words 'colony, or district, which do assume the powers of a government.' Sir James Mackintosh warned the house, that, however the motion might be worded, and its real object concealed, the bill ought to be entitled, 'A bill for preventing British subjects from lending their assistance to the South American cause, or enlisting in the South American service.' He asserted, that the statutes of George II., cited as authority on this occasion, were intended merely for the temporary purpose of preventing the formation of jacobite armies organised in France and Spain, against the peace and tranquillity of England; and he concluded by reprobating a measure, which was virtually an enactment to repress the liberty of the South Americans, and to enable Spain to reimpose on them that yoke of tyranny which they were unable to bear; which they had nobly shaken off; and from which, he trusted, they would finally and for ever be enabled to extricate themselves. Lord Castlereagh contended that the proposed bill was necessary, to prevent our giving offence to Spain, whom that house was too just and generous to oppress, because she was weak, and her fortunes had declined. Was not, he asked, the proclamation, which had been issued about eighteen months, approved both in England and America, as perfectly just in the principles of neutrality which it declared? Was it not, he also asked, a breach of that proclamation, when not only individuals, whom perhaps it might have been impossible to restrain; not only officers, in small numbers, went out to join the insurrectionary legions; but when there was a regular organisation of troops; when regiments, regularly formed, left the British shores; when ships of war were fitted out in English ports, and transports chartered to carry thither arms and ammunition? In the subsequent stages of the bill, ministers candidly avowed that the measure had been suggested by the stipulations of a treaty made with Spain in 1814, and by the representations which the ministers of Ferdinand VII. had considered themselves entitled by such stipulations to address to the British government. This admission excited some severe comments on the character of Ferdinand: the bill, however, was carried; but, though rigorous in its provisions, it was by no means rigorously enforced. An act of grace, which was understood to emanate from the regent himself, for reversing the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, was carried without opposition: the attainder itself, as passed by the Irish parliament, was an instance of contemptible ser-

vility to the ruling powers by that corrupt assembly ; and the preamble of the present bill stated, that his lordship had never been brought to trial ; that the act of attainder did not pass the Irish parliament till some months after his decease ; and that these were sufficient reasons for mitigating the severity of a measure decreed in unhappy and unfortunate times.

Mr. Wilberforce was heard this session, complaining of the reluctance which two great powers had shown towards all arrangements necessary for carrying into effect the total abolition of the slave trade : it grieved him to cast this reproach on a great and high-minded people like the French ; and he was still more hurt to find that America was not free from blame : he trusted, however, all nations would cordially unite in their endeavors to civilise the inhabitants of Africa ; and concluded by moving an address entreating the prince regent to renew his exertions for the attainment of an object of such general interest : the address was agreed to unanimously ; and a similar one was voted in the house of lords, on the motion of lord Lansdowne. The sum of £50,000 was granted, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, for the purpose of enabling government to divert the current of emigration from the United States to the Cape of Good Hope, the colony to which it was considered that it might be most advantageously directed : it was proposed to pay the expense of the passage, and to supply the emigrant with the means of exercising his industry on arriving at the destined spot : a small advance of money was to be made by each settler before his embarkation, to be repaid him in necessaries at the Cape ; so that, with the aid of government, he would have the means of subsisting comfortably until he gathered his crops, which, in that climate, were of a rapid growth. The session was closed on the thirteenth of July by the regent personally ; who in his speech expressed a confident expectation, that the measures which had been adopted for the resumption of cash payments would be productive of the most beneficial consequences : he regretted the necessity of additional taxation ; anticipated many permanent advantages from the efforts which had been made to meet our financial difficulties ; and in adverting to the seditious spirit which was abroad in the manufacturing districts, avowed a firm determination to employ the powers provided by law for its suppression.

Ministers, as we have seen, at the opening of the session, indulged only in joyful anticipations of prosperity, without contemplating the political and moral causes of evil working around them. Though the amount of government expenditure

had greatly decreased, the extent of parish relief to the poorer classes indicated no improvement in their condition:¹⁰ though the drains made by government were first lessened by the cessation or diminution of loans, the effect of this, in a rise of wages to the same extent, was not immediately felt. It became necessary, that the amount of wealth, which had been annually taken by the government in loans, should be left to be employed as capital, in competition with the other existing capital; and that profit should thus be reduced, and wages made to rise; but this operation required time: it happened also, that, in taking off taxes, a course was pursued which gave the least immediate relief to the laboring part of the community; for instead of those taxes being dispensed with which pressed immediately on them, the property tax was repealed; an impost, which did not come out of the pockets of the laborers; and from the repeal of which, relief to them would come most circuitously, and at the most distant period: but there are other fixed payments, as well as those made to government, which the British people had to pay; such as annuities of various kinds, sums engaged to be paid by lease for all sorts of houses, warehouses, mills, &c., compositions for tithes, mortgages, and rents of lands: as these were now to be exacted in a currency increased in value by twenty per cent, additional produce to that value would be taken from payers, and given to receivers. In whatever form the payment might be made, this would be the effect: every payer would have to part with more goods, by twenty per cent, in order to obtain the money necessary for his payment; and every receiver would, in the money which he received, obtain the power of purchasing and consuming twenty per cent more of the produce of labor: now as the main body of receivers are of the wealthy and unproductive, and the payers generally of the poorer and productive classes, the former would be gainers, and the latter losers, by this rise in the value of the currency. But the restoration of the currency to an undepreciated state was not the only alteration which it underwent at this time: gold was now rising, from various causes, in its exchangeable value;

¹⁰ The amount of government expenditure, in 1813, was £109,054,125, or, allowing for the depreciation of the currency twenty-two and a half per cent, £84,863,697; in 1819, it was only £48,438,396: but in 1813, a sum equivalent to about 1,200,000 quarters of wheat was sufficient for the relief of the poor; while, in 1819, a sum equal to more than 2,000,000 quarters was required.

and its tendency to flow toward this country was becoming weaker, or rather it began to ebb from it; and if the currency had been intirely of gold at this period, it would have flowed out, until prices had sunk to a much lower level. The existence of paper money, when that paper was made liable to be paid in gold, did not, however, keep up the quantity of currency materially above what it would have been, if constituted of gold alone; as the paper was reduced to the quantity which the gold would have equalled in the absence of the paper; and as gold became scarce, paper was obliged to be taken in, to preserve it at the same level as the gold: hence, as there was a twofold reduction in the value of the currency during the progress of the war, first, from a fall in the exchangeable value of gold, and afterwards, from an excessive issue of paper; so there was now a twofold rise in the currency; first, from a withdrawal of paper to an extent sufficient to remove the depreciation arising from its excessive issue; and afterwards, sufficient to raise its value equal to the rise in the exchangeable value of gold.

At this period, the rise of gold was considered equal to about ten per cent; when the whole sums of net wealth, paid by the productive classes, would be increased to that extent; or additional wealth to that amount taken from them.¹¹ The total net wealth furnished at this time was estimated at at £100,000,000; £50,000,000 to individual annuitants, £50,000,000 to the government; and if the rise in the value of gold, which equalled ten per cent, be added to the increase of twenty per cent in the value of the currency consequent on the removal of depreciation, the additional wealth taken from the people equalled thirty per cent on the total sum; that is, £100,000,000 would command commodities equal to £130,000,000 when the currency was at its lowest value; while the benefit obtained by laboring classes arose only from a reduction in the rate of profit, consequent on the repeal of loans, and the cessation of the property tax. Nothing but the increase of population, enabling the people to furnish the required wealth with more ease, prevented still more calamitous effects on their condition from the increased burdens imposed on them: but, on the other hand, the fall in the selling prices of our exports, occasioned by the extension of manufactures at home, while rival establishments were ap-

¹¹ For a certain time, indeed, some of this would be paid by the capitalists; but it would finally be furnished by the laborers.

pearing in other countries ;—made it necessary that a larger portion of British labor should be engaged in their production than when they sold at higher prices : less labor was consequently left, to produce annually at home all that mass of wealth, which satisfies the demands of the net claimants, and enables the whole community to subsist.

The foregoing statement, to which many other facts might be added, is sufficient to account for the condition of the laboring classes not improving immediately after the termination of the war. In addition to such general causes of discontent, may be added the coercive measures, necessarily, though perhaps in some cases obnoxious, put in force by government ; while the house of commons became more and more regarded as a subservient instrument of ministerial and aristocratical power, than as a faithful representation of the people : in the mean time, demagogues and low traffickers in infidelity and sedition sought subsistence or notoriety in vile publications, by which the passions of the multitude were inflamed, and their resentment pointed against all ranks above them : the rural population, being more thinly scattered, and more passive by habit and education, was not so easily roused ; but the manufacturing laborers in the midland and northern districts, as well as in various parts of Scotland, entered into secret combinations, and called together assemblies, in which deliberative inquiries were acutely made, and daringly avowed, on the subject of actual grievances and natural rights.

Among these discontented artisans, a party, who denominated themselves radical reformers, began to acquire much influence, from the sedulity with which they propagated the notion, that such a reform of parliament as would make its members truly representatives of the people, would be the surest method of putting an end to present and future sufferings : the most notorious of these demagogues was Henry Hunt, a man without political knowlege, sagacity, or eloquence ; but daring in the cause which he had adopted, and shrewd in the topics and vocabulary of the mob, with an appearance of honesty well calculated to attach them to his person.

One of the first steps of this radical party, was an application to the magistrates of Manchester, to convoke a meeting for the alleged purpose of petitioning against the corn bill ; and in consequence of their refusal, it was summoned by an anonymous advertisement. Hunt, who had been selected as the hero of the day, was conducted, in a kind of triumphal procession,

to the place of meeting, where a strong remonstrance to the prince regent was adopted; but the multitude dispersed without tumult or disorder. This example was followed at Glasgow, Leeds, Stockport, and other manufacturing places; but strong measures of precaution taken by the local authorities, had, in most instances, the effect of preserving order and tranquillity; though there was a marked contrast between the peaceable demeanor of the auditors, and the inflammatory character of the language in which they were addressed. On these occasions, the defect in the representation of the people was pronounced to be the grand source of all evils; for which, annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and election by ballot were pointed out as the only remedies: at one meeting, there was a discussion, whether the people had a right to destroy the Bank of England; and some hints were thrown out respecting the expediency of a division of landed property, and a recurrence to physical force: by some, however, it was contended, that these suggestions, which were attended with no practical results, proceeded from spies; and it is not improbable, that the agents of government, whose duty could not legitimately extend beyond the office of observing and reporting the proceedings which took place, might occasionally exceed their instructions. The most novel and censurable feature in the system, was the formation of female societies for the promotion of reform; which bodies entered into violent resolutions, and called on the wives and daughters of manufacturers to extend such associations, for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and instilling into their children a deep-rooted hatred of tyrannical governors. At Birmingham, where extensive distress among the working classes had given greater currency to the new doctrines, the radicals hazarded a bolder experiment than any which they had before displayed: this was the election of a member, or, as it was termed, a 'legislatorial attorney,' to represent that great and populous town in the house of commons: at a meeting held for this purpose, on the twelfth of July, the managers stated, that the issue of a writ being compulsory, they had not thought it necessary to wait for a mandate on this occasion; but that, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, and the duty of good subjects, they should proceed to advise the sovereign by their representative. Sir Charles Wolseley, who had previously declared his determination to claim his seat if he should be elected, was put into nomination, and unanimously chosen by an assemblage of 15,000 persons. Ministers and their partisans for a time

regarded this proceeding as a matter of jest, instead of seeing in it a practical demonstration, that Birmingham, and a few other such populous towns, ought to be represented in parliament.

A few days, however, after the reformers had got up this scene, it was resolved at a meeting in the great unrepresented town of Leeds, that a similar election should take place, as soon as an eligible member could be found: but government at length interfered; the legislative attorney of Birmingham was arrested, on account of expressions used at Stockport, in Cheshire; and an itinerant preacher, named Harrison, for a similar offence at the same place, was taken into custody, while attending a reform meeting in London: on these charges, they were next year convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment.

The Smithfield meeting, at which Harrison was arrested, took place on the twenty-first of July: some degree of alarm was naturally felt by the citizens on such an occasion; and for the purpose of preventing riot and disorder, very extensive and judicious precautions were taken both by the government and the police. Hunt was elected to the chair; and several resolutions were carried, to the effect, that as the persons at present composing the house of commons had not been fairly chosen, the meeting could not consider themselves bound in equity by any of their enactments, after the following January. When the officers seized on Harrison, a few voices were heard, proposing resistance; when Hunt requested the multitude to let him go quietly:—‘If they apprehend me,’ said he, ‘I am ready with bail, and will try the question: let me subpoena all here present; and then, although they may procure three villains to swear away my life, I shall not be afraid, having 50,000 witnesses to contradict them: if only thirty of you should come day by day, the trial will last for three years!’ The remonstrance to the prince regent, which had been carried at a meeting in Palace-yard on the eighth of September last year, was again adopted, and numerous speeches followed; in the course of which, Hunt stated, that the penny subscription, which had been started to promote the cause of reform, and had been expected to create in one year a fund of £256,000, amounted, at the expiration of ten months, only to four pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence. This enormous assemblage finally separated without any rioting or tumult.

On the third night following, an atrocious attempt was made at Stockport to assassinate Birch, the deputy constable

for that township, by whose exertions both Sir Charles Wolseley and Harrison had been apprehended : vigorous measures for the discovery of the offenders were immediately adopted by government ; and on the thirtieth of July a proclamation was issued against seditious assemblies.

The Manchester reformers, who had announced a meeting to be held on the ninth of August for the election of a representative, as at Birmingham, were informed by the magistrates, that the proposed object was unquestionably illegal, and they would not be permitted to assemble : in consequence of this determination, the design was relinquished, and notices were issued of a meeting to be held on the sixteenth of August, avowedly for the legal purpose of petitioning in favor of parliamentary reform : an open space in the town, called St. Peter's field, was selected for the assembly ; and never on any previous occasion was so great a number of persons known to be present : some hours before the proceedings were to commence, large bodies began to march in from the adjoining towns and villages, formed in rows five deep, many of them armed with stout staves, and preserving a kind of military order and regularity of step : each company had its own flag, bearing a motto ; and banners of white silk preceded two clubs of female reformers : the whole numbers collected were estimated at 60,000 : a band of special constables, stationed on the ground, disposed themselves so as to form a line of communication from a house where the magistrates were sitting to the stage or platform, erected for Mr. Hunt, the chairman, and the orators who intended to harangue the meeting. Soon after the business had been opened, a body of yeomanry cavalry entered the ground at a rapid pace, and advanced with drawn swords toward the stage ; while their commanding officer called out to Hunt, who was then speaking, and told him that he was their prisoner. The chairman, after enjoining the people to be tranquil, and offering to surrender himself to any civil officer who should exhibit his warrant, was taken into custody by a constable, and several other persons were also apprehended : some of the yeomanry then cried out, ' Have at their flags ! ' on which, the troop began to strike down the banners raised in various parts of the field, and a scene of dreadful confusion arose : numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses ; many persons, even females, were cut down by sabres ; several were killed ; and the maimed and wounded amounted to between three and four hundred : in a short time the ground was cleared of its former occupants, and military patrols were

stationed in the principal streets of the town to preserve tranquillity.

Great difference of opinion has ever since prevailed on this subject ; and perhaps the Manchester meeting is one of those events, the various details of which will never be accurately cleared up : whether the riot act was actually read or not, is still a disputed point ; the reformers and their friends insisting that it was not, the magistrates and their adherents contending that it was : and certainly, if it was read, the affirmative of the proposition would have been more easily established than its negative : the whole transaction appears not to have extended beyond ten minutes ; by which time the field was intirely cleared of the populace, and occupied by different corps of infantry and cavalry. Hunt and his colleagues, after a short examination, were conducted to solitary cells on a charge of high treason : the following day, notices were issued by the magistrates, declaring the practice of military training, alleged to have been carried on secretly for treasonable purposes, to be illegal : public thanks were by the same authority returned to the officers and men of the respective corps engaged in the attack ; and on the arrival in London of a despatch from the local authorities, a cabinet council was held, which, on *ex parte* and interested statements, rather too precipitately directed official letters of thanks to be forwarded to the magistrates for their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures ; and to all the military engaged, for the support and assistance rendered by them to the civil power.

For some days, the town of Manchester and its neighborhood were in a state of constrained tranquillity, although some farther disturbances, in which one or two lives were lost, had taken place.

At a numerous meeting, held at the Crown and Anchor in London, a series of resolutions, strongly censuring the conduct of the magistrates, as well as the military, and returning thanks to Hunt and his colleagues, was unanimously adopted ; as also a resolution for raising a subscription to defray the expenses of defending the prisoners : in the same spirit, a meeting was held in Smithfield ; and a violent letter on the subject was addressed to the electors of Westminster by Sir Francis Burdett, for the writing of which he was afterwards tried, and convicted as a libeller.

In pursuance of this letter, an immense multitude assembled within the precincts of Palace-yard on the second of September, for the purpose of declaring an opinion on the conduct of the

magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester : after speeches, which occupied three hours in the delivery, by Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Hobhouse, his colleague in the representation of Westminster, several violent resolutions were adopted, declaring the assemblage at Manchester a lawful meeting ; that the outrage on that occasion was an attempt to destroy by the sword the few remaining liberties of Englishmen ; and that it was another lamentable consequence of the want of a real representation. An address to the prince regent, founded on these resolutions, was unanimously agreed to.

The circumstances of the Manchester case turned out to be such, that government found it expedient to abandon the threatened trial of Hunt and his associates for high treason ; and those persons were accordingly informed that they would be prosecuted for a conspiracy only, which was a bailable offence : but Hunt refused to give bail, even, as he said, to the amount of a single farthing ; nevertheless he was liberated by some of his friends : his return from Lancaster to Manchester had the appearance of a triumphal procession ; for he was attended by thousands on horse, on foot, and in carriages, who hailed him with shouts of applause, as the assertor of British freedom.

True bills were found by the Lancashire grand jury against Hunt, Johnson, Moorhouse, and the other prisoners indicted with them ; all of whom availed themselves of the privilege of traversing till the spring assizes of 1820 ; and instead of Lancaster, the trial took place at York : after ten days' duration, it closed on the tenth of April, when the jury declared Hunt, Johnson, Knight, Healy, and Bamford, guilty of collecting with unlawful banners an assembly, for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our sovereign lord the king into contempt and hatred of the government and constitution of the realm, as by law established, and attending at the same : in the ensuing term they received sentence ; Hunt to be imprisoned in the jail of Ilchester two years and a half, and then to find securities for his good behavior during five years ; Johnson, Bamford, and Healy to be imprisoned one year in Lincoln castle, and also to find sureties.

The reformers, notwithstanding the tragical result of the Manchester meeting, still ventured to assemble as before at Leeds, Glasgow, and other places : the conduct of the Manchester magistrates and yeomanry became a prominent theme with their orators ; ensigns of mourning were exhibited ; horrible

details were given of the barbarous acts alleged to have been committed; while the sufferers of the sixteenth of August were eulogised as martyrs, being classed with Russell, Hampden, Sidney, and other illustrious names of ancient times: rarely, however, where the local authorities abstained from interposition, did any breach of the peace ensue; but at Paisley, where the flags of the radicals were seized by the magistrates on their return from the meeting, some riots occurred, which fortunately were quelled without bloodshed.

The regular opposition, or whig party, throughout the kingdom, seized with avidity on the solemn approval which had been given by government, so hastily, as they said, to an illegal act of power; and the various meetings convened on this occasion were numerous, and some very respectably attended: a large assemblage of the county of York was sanctioned by the presence of earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of the west riding, as well as many other noblemen and gentlemen of high consideration, who delivered their sentiments in very strong language; and a petition to the regent was adopted, calling loudly for inquiry: in consequence of which proceedings, earl Fitzwilliam was dismissed from his high office. Meetings, however, were held in other places, and petitions drawn up, some calling only for investigation, and others adding strong censure on the administration: the corporation of London, having presented a very energetic address, were severely rebuked by the regent, as prejudging the matter without having had an opportunity of understanding it; in allusion to which, earl Grey subsequently in the house of peers taxed ministers with having placed in his royal highness's hands 'an impertinent and flippant answer,' rebuking the city for prejudging the case, after they themselves had prejudged it by transmitting thanks so precipitately to the magistrates.

To counteract these meetings, loyal addresses, and offers to raise yeomanry corps, were zealously promoted by the friends of administration; while a large veteran battalion, under the auspices of lord Sidmouth, was formed from the Chelsea pensioners. Parties at this time became bitterly exasperated against each other; and as persons of property chiefly adhered to the ministerial side of the question, the lower orders began to entertain against their superiors that deeply-seated indignation, which contributed much to the reform of our institutions. 'If the laws were really violated,' said the regent, 'by those whose duty it was to assist in putting them into execution, the

tribunals of the country were open to afford redress.'¹² At Lancaster, however, the grand jury threw out every bill which had been preferred against individuals by the sufferers on the sixteenth of August; while, at Manchester, the authorities showed a determination to carry matters with a high hand: no depositions against the yeomanry, or police officers, by those whom they had injured, were received; and the coroner directed verdicts to be returned, on which no judicial proceedings could be founded.

Amid the general ferment produced by these commotions, the meeting of parliament was impatiently expected by all parties: it assembled on the twenty-third of November; when the regent, in his opening speech, expressed much regret at the necessity of calling members together so prematurely: after dilating on the seditious spirit and insurrectionary acts of the manufacturing classes, he promised to lay before them all the information requisite to direct them in their deliberations; and pressed on their attention the enactment of such regulations as might tend to suppress the evil. An amendment to the address was moved in the house of lords by earl Grey; in which, while the necessity of checking any practices dangerous to the constitution was fully admitted, a strong opinion was expressed of the expediency of conciliation, and of inquiry into the transactions of Manchester, to allay the feelings to which they had given birth, and satisfy the people that the lives of his majesty's subjects could not be sacrificed with impunity.

Lord Sidmouth, feeling himself officially called on to reply, declared, that never before had so much exaggeration, misrepresentation, and falsehood gone forth concerning a public event. The meeting, he would boldly assert, was both illegal and treasonable: the magistrates would have acted not only unwisely, but basely and unjustly, had they done otherwise than they did: the letter of approbation was sanctioned by a cabinet council; and he, for his part, did not shrink from any share of its responsibility. The danger with which we were threatened was generally admitted; and its magnitude should induce their lordships to unite in vigorous measures to avert it: the most alarming feature in that danger was the conduct of some persons, who encouraged the disaffected, by standing between the government assailed and the party assailing it. In the house of commons, the amendment was moved by Mr.

¹² Answer to city address.

Tierney, who drew a melancholy picture of the country, affirming that the measures of ministers had brought it to the brink of despair: he also stated, that the cause of parliamentary reform had of late years been working its way among the people: the diffusion of education, which parliament itself sanctioned, had compelled the house to submit to all the criticisms on its proceedings, which men felt justified by facts in making; and if government thought, that by passing new laws, raising new troops, or the promulgation of loyal addresses, they could put down the awakened spirit of the people, they would find themselves grievously mistaken: he then adverted to the Manchester business, and urged strenuously the necessity of inquiry; concluding by some very severe remarks on the dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam. Lord Castlereagh, in his reply, declined following the honorable member through his remarks on the state of the country; because the only definite proposition offered, was one for inquiry into the transactions at Manchester, respecting which he should next day lay a mass of information before the house, and explain the measures contemplated by government. His lordship justified the magistrates, and supported the address, which, like that in the lords, was carried by a large majority.

Next day, the promised documents respecting the state of popular feeling were produced: they consisted partly in the correspondence of official persons with the home secretary, and partly in communications made by individuals whose names were suppressed. Letters from the Manchester magistrates, which had been received previously to the 16th of August, expressed their apprehensions that a formidable insurrection was in contemplation; at the same time, they bore testimony to the alarming distress of the manufacturing classes; and assigned hunger as a natural inducement with the poor to listen to pernicious doctrines, as projects for the amelioration of their sufferings. It was stated in numerous depositions, that the practice of secret training prevailed to a great extent among the reformers, but only with a view of enabling themselves to march in the semblance of military array to their meetings; sticks being the only weapons which had been employed. A communication from lord Fitzwilliam on the state of the west riding of Yorkshire, represented that the last reform meeting on Hunslet-moor had been less numerously attended than previously; and he intimated that the rage for such assemblies might be safely left to die away of itself. Sir John Byng, military commander of the district, stated, that

simultaneous meetings were to have been held at many neighboring towns, but the plan had been frustrated by the disunion of the leaders. The distress and discontent reigning in this quarter, where the manufacture of pistols, pikes, and other weapons was reported to be going on to a large extent, formed the subject of some communications; and similar representations from the south-west of Scotland, where employment and wages had fallen off in a still more deplorable degree, were afforded by others. The grand jury of Cheshire also expressed the alarm which was felt for their lives and properties by the loyal part of his majesty's subjects.

This body of evidence having been submitted to the two houses, ministers proceeded to open their system of defensive measures. As a preliminary step, the lord chancellor introduced a bill, which he said he had long contemplated. It had been usual with the courts to allow defendants, in cases of information or indictment, to *imparle* or *traverse*: but as great inconvenience had arisen from this practice, which sometimes delayed trials to a very remote period, and as the ends of justice might thus be defeated, the bill would take away from a defendant the right of traversing; allowing the court, however, to postpone his trial, on his showing sufficient reason for the delay. Earl Grey at once entered his protest against the whole of the measures which appeared to be in preparation, as calculated to bring misery, if not ruin, on the country: on the second reading, earl Grosvenor contended, that while the attorney-general was allowed to hold informations over the heads of defendants for an indefinite length of time, to abolish the right of traverse was greatly enhancing the grievance: lord Erskine also opposed the measure, as depriving the people of a great and important privilege. On the other hand, lord Liverpool contended, that, if their lordships did not pass this bill, they had better at once declare that every description of sedition and blasphemy should enjoy complete toleration. Lord Holland urged on ministers the equity of legislating on both sides of the question, so as to prevent the delays which occurred in prosecutions on *ex officio* informations, as well as in those of indictment; and, in compliance with this suggestion, the lord chancellor, at the third reading, proposed an additional clause, compelling the attorney-general to bring a defendant to trial within a year, or to enter a *noli prosequi*. The bill, thus amended, passed both houses without farther opposition.

The additional measures for the restriction of public liberty,

proposed by lord Sidmouth in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower house, were the following :—‘ An act to render the publication of a blasphemous or seditious libel punishable, on a second conviction, at the discretion of the court, by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation ; and to give power, in cases of a second conviction, to seize the copies of the libel in possession of the publisher ; a stamp duty, equal to that paid by newspapers, on all publications containing less than a given number of sheets ; with an obligation on all publishers of such pieces to enter into recognisances for the payment of such penalties as might be in future inflicted on them.’ The press being thus restrained, seditious meetings were to be controlled by the following provisions :—‘ That a requisition for holding any meeting except those regularly called by a sheriff, boroughreeve, or other magistrate, should be signed by seven householders ; and that it should be illegal for any persons, not being inhabitants of the place in which such meeting was held, to attend it ; also, that magistrates should be empowered, within certain limitations, to appoint the time and place of meeting.’ To repel danger from the mustering of an illegal force, it was proposed to prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate or lieutenant of a county ; and in the disturbed districts, to give to magistrates the power of seizing arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes, and also to apprehend and detain persons so carrying arms. The only one of these bills which passed without opposition, was that for the prevention of secret military training : the bill for the seizure of arms, which, under certain circumstances, and in particular districts, authorised search in private dwellings by day or night, was vehemently resisted both in the upper and lower house ; whilst a clause in the bill concerning blasphemous and seditious libels, which decreed the punishment of transportation to a second conviction, though it passed the lords, was withdrawn when it came to the commons : but the penalty of banishment, previously unknown to the English law, was now introduced into it. The seditious meeting bill, in its progress, was subjected to a modification, by which all meetings held in a room or building were exempted from its operation : several alterations also were admitted into that which subjected small publications to the newspaper stamp duty. Such were the celebrated ‘ six acts,’ which ultimately passed, and which ministers deemed necessary to coerce the turbulence of an irritated people : despotic and dangerous as their spirit seemed to be, probably nothing less

would have been effectual: and, after all, what were they? acts of a free legislature, agreed to by a majority of the people's representatives; provisions, emanating from the most glorious constitution on earth, to preserve that very constitution for posterity! No counteracting violence was here meditated; no naked sword was placed in the hands of a chief magistrate, ordered to prevent the republic from receiving injury by imbruing his weapon in the blood of its citizens; but a few strict and severe enactments were made, to guard, as it were, the majesty of the law; while the reign of that law was still left free and undisturbed as ever.

On the following evening, the marquis of Lansdowne moved for a select committee to inquire into the state of the nation, especially of the disturbed districts, where radicalism, as it was called, prevailed, in his opinion, proportionally to the existing distress. That distress, he thought, arose from the long war, which gave us the carrying trade of the world; which created a fixed capital, which still existed, and filled the markets, while no vent could be found for their produce: it was also increased by the poor laws, the paper currency, and the spirit of excessive speculation. Adverting to the expedients which had been proposed for its alleviation, such as temporary loans to encourage labor, he thought there were two other points of a more extended nature, well worthy of attention; the one was to take off duties from articles which had considerably decreased in various districts, such as tea, which was also much affected by the smuggling trade; the other was the establishment of favorable commercial treaties, which government had not yet succeeded in accomplishing: he alluded particularly to the timber trade with Norway, which had been neglected, to encourage the growth of very inferior wood in Canada; so that Norway was prevented from taking many of our articles of commerce. The marquis Wellesley deprecated all such inquiries, until the passing of the bills necessary to curb that seditious spirit which was so dangerous to our institutions. Lord Erskine however thought the existing laws were wholly sufficient for this purpose, and that the country was by no means in so alarming a condition as at the time of the state trials in 1794: he ridiculed the evidence which appeared in the papers lately laid before parliament, with a view to prove a treasonable or seditious meeting at Manchester; and contended that there was nothing illegal in marching to a place of public meeting. Lord Grenville could not be induced to consider the designs of

the reformers as originating in distress, which, he hoped, was only temporary: such distress gave facilities to factious men, which they would not otherwise possess; but the root of the evil lay much deeper: the promoters of the new system here, taking the French revolution as their model, had deluged the country with blasphemous publications; and he considered the conduct of the magistrates at Manchester as not only free from blame, but deserving the utmost applause. The motion was negatived by a large majority.

Unfavorable as the times appeared to be for the discussion of parliamentary reform, lord John Russell was not deterred from calling the attention of the house of commons to the unrepresented towns, many of which had risen to vast importance; while certain boroughs had sunk into decay, and become unfit to enjoy the privilege of sending representatives to the great council of the nation. He brought forward examples from historical documents, to show that the principle of change had often been acknowledged; the right of suffrage having been withdrawn from and conferred on various places. After a full explanation of his views, he proposed several resolutions in accordance with them; the last being for the disfranchisement of Grampound, the corruption of which borough had been already proved to the house: at the suggestion, however, of lord Castlereagh, who appeared willing to concur in the objects of the motion to a certain degree, lord John now withdrew it, but after a few days brought in a bill for the disfranchisement of Grampound, and the transfer of its elective privileges to some populous town.

Considerable animadversion was excited in the political circles by the fulfilment of a convention concluded between Great Britain and Turkey; by which the fortress of Parga, which remained after the war under British protection, was ceded nominally to the latter power, but, in fact, to its bitter and deceitful foe, Ali Pasha; who was, at this very time, and had long been, considered a rebel against the Porte. The Parghiotes were the last of the Christians in Epirus who had successfully resisted his tyranny: in 1807, after the treaty of Tilsit had given the Ionian isles to Napoleon, they had solicited and obtained a French garrison from Corfu; and in 1814, they had taken the precaution of early placing themselves under British protection. During the command of general Campbell, they enjoyed security, and began to look forward with confidence to its continuance; but under the despotic rule of Sir T. Mait-

land, who, after much intriguing with Ali Pasha, took a different view of the question, they were ordered either to submit to the Albanian despot, or to quit their country for ever: finding their fate inevitable, and knowing the vindictive nature of their foe, they chose the latter alternative, when an estimate was made of their possessions, amounting, on a moderate calculation, to £500,000; but the compensation which Sir Thomas Maitland chose to accept in their name, and in spite of their remonstrances, was less than one third of that sum: when this circumstance, and the harshness with which all the decrees against a brave but unfortunate people, are taken into consideration, it cannot be matter of surprise that the whole continent rang with exclamations against the policy of the British government. When it was signified to the miserable Parghiotes that the fated day of their expulsion was arrived, and that a Turkish force was near the frontier, ready to enter their territory; an answer was returned to the officer appointed to conduct the embarkation, that if a single Turk should pass the borders before all had a fair opportunity of quitting the country, they would put to death their wives and children, and defend themselves against any force, British or Turkish, to the last extremity. This was no idle menace; for the history of modern Greece affords numerous instances of such self-devotion; and the Parghiotes knew but too well with what an insatiable thirst of blood the Albanian tiger was tormented. Information of their determination was sent to the lord high commissioner; and he instantly despatched some British officers to expostulate with the people, who were discovered digging up the bones of their ancestors, and burning or burying them in secret places, to prevent their profanation by the Turks: still it was declared that the meditated sacrifice would be perpetrated, unless the advance of the Albanians, who had already arrived close to the frontier-line, could be stopped; and means were then found to effect this object. In the mean time, the Glasgow frigate arrived; and the embarkation commenced, after the whole people had solemnly knelt down to kiss, for the last time, the land which gave them birth, and watered it with their tears: some of them carried away a handful of the soil, to be a solace in misfortune, or a memorial of wrongs endured, which might stimulate their children to the recovery of their country: others took, for the same purpose, a small portion of those sacred ashes which had been once animated by the spirits of their forefathers. When the bands of Ali Pasha reached the walls, all was solitude and silence: the city, as it has been observed, received its infidel garrison as Babylon

or Palmyra salutes the traveller in the desert : nothing breathed, nothing moved ; the houses were desolate ; the nation was extinct ; the bones of the dead were almost consumed to ashes ; while the only sign that living creatures had been there, was the smoke slowly ascending from the funeral piles.¹³

The emperor of Russia, this year, prevailed on many of his nobility to emancipate their vassals : he also ordered his soldiers to be quartered on the peasantry, and directed them to instruct each other in their respective avocations. With so much policy had the Prussian monarch conducted himself in his alliances and treaties, that he obtained a large addition to the number of his subjects : much discontent, however, was excited among the most intelligent part of the Prussian population, from the unwillingness shown by the monarch to grant the constitution which he had promised ; and many were banished or imprisoned for boldly insisting on their civil rights. The Austrian government was, this year, occupied in domestic arrangements, and in promoting a pacific policy, chiefly with a view to consolidate its dominions and influence in Italy. The states of Germany still continued without their constitutions, though some minor points were conceded to the people. The king of Hanover abolished torture, and convoked a species of parliament ; but no person was to be admitted to hear its debates. In Spain, the despotism of the priesthood became intolerable, and as Ferdinand grew more and more blood-thirsty, he executed above fifty officers implicated with the patriotic Lacy in the charge of insurrection : a new ministry was appointed, and the members of the old one sent into exile : on his second marriage, which took place this year, an amnesty was published, but containing so many exceptions, that, under the mask of moderation, it aggravated the outrageous conduct of the monarch. In the kingdom of the Netherlands attempts were made to curb the liberty of the press, which exposed to the world much discordant feeling between the two territorial branches of the realm.

At the beginning of the year, a new and popular ministry was appointed in France, with M. de Cazes at its head, supported by the marshals of Napoleon's creation ; yet the ultra-royalists contrived to carry a motion in the house of peers,

¹³ The reader is referred for a minute, circumstantial, and it is hoped, impartial detail of this lamentable transaction, to the author's travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania, vol. ii.

tending to destroy the freedom of elections : in the chamber of deputies, however, motions of a similar nature were rejected ; and to check such attempts in the other house, the king added fifty new names to the peerage : disturbances, supposed to be instigated by the ultra-royalists, broke out in various parts of the kingdom.

The greatest interest, however, attached itself to the affairs of the new world : the consolidated republics of Buenos Ayres and Chili were engaged in completing their internal organisation, and in preparing to invade Peru, where the prejudices of education, the errors of ignorance, and the superstitions of priestcraft still attached a strong party to the interests of Old Spain. Lord Cochrane was appointed commander of the Chilian navy ; and, as might be expected from the energy of his character, acquired an undisturbed dominion over the South American seas.

In the provinces bordering on the Caribbean seas, the republican cause obtained more decided success : Bolivar, the Washington of South America, having marched his troops from the Orinoko, through wildernesses and over mountains, surprised the armies of the royalists in the rich provinces of New Granada, whose capital, Santa Fé Bogota, hoisted the standard of liberty, proclaiming the union of New Granada with Venezuela, under the general name of Columbia. A republican constitution of these vast territories was afterwards promulgated, and an assembly of representatives, opened by a speech from Bolivar, the president and liberator ; which, as a manual of political science, may vie with the celebrated document that closed the political career of Washington. Morillo and the armies from Old Spain, acted, during the latter part of the year, intirely on the defensive : the re-inforcements, which had been collected at Cadiz, were put into vessels at that port, but were soon afterwards disembarked on account of a spirit of disaffection which appeared among them ; so that the *beloved* Ferdinand had now a certain prospect before him of losing his transatlantic dominions.

There are not many occurrences among our domestic affairs this year that require particular notice. The metropolis acquired a considerable addition of ornament and convenience from the opening of the Burlington Arcade, and the noble iron-bridge thrown over the Thames, to form a new communication between the city and the borough of Southwark : in this case, however, as in that of the magnificent bridge of Waterloo, the speculation, which was intirely one of private individuals, turned out

a complete failure :¹⁴ in both instances, it has been discovered, that a large majority of the people prefer the indirect expense arising from the loss of an hour's time, and the waste of shoe-leather, to the direct and positive tax of one penny ; a fact, from which they whose business it is to tax the nation may take a useful lesson. In this year, Mr. Telford began the construction of that magnificent suspension bridge, which hangs over the Menai Strait ; and Mr. Perkins, of Philadelphia, introduced in this country a mode of engraving on softened steel, which, when hardened, will multiply impressions to an almost indefinite extent.

¹⁴ The £100 shares of the latter, and the £50 shares of the former, may be purchased at the price of about £2 each.



Engraved by Freeman.

GEORGE IV.

CHAP. LX.

GEORGE IV.—1820.

Death of the duke of Kent and of George III.—Accession of George IV.—Declaration, &c.—His declining health—Marriage respecting the dissolution of parliament, &c.—Mr. Hunt's harassing question respecting the queen—The chancellor's speech—Thompson's conspiracy—Trial and execution of the conspirators—Popular dissensions—Meetings at Brompton, Glasgow, &c.—Elections—Meeting of parliament, &c.—Alarms respecting the borough of Southampton—Bills for amending the criminal code—Failure of Mr. Brougham's educational bill—Motion for a committee on the corn laws carried—Motion for a committee respecting free trade—First and last financial statement—Affairs of the queen—Her arrival in England—Proceedings against her in parliament, &c.—Her loss of popularity—Death of the duchess of York—Return of captain Parry from the north seas—Revolutions, &c. in foreign states.

The protracted existence of the venerable monarch who had so long swayed the British sceptre was now drawing to a close: in November, his health underwent a considerable change; and though for a time alarming symptoms were removed, yet a general decay of the constitution ensued, which portended dissolution at no distant period. On the twenty-first of January, died, after a short illness, the duke of Kent; having bequeathed to the nation the character of a charitable, humane prince, and an excellent father. His daughter Victoria, since he was married, had been his favourite. Eight days had scarcely elapsed before the queen, feeling herself unwell, ordered a physician to be sent for, who, on the twenty-third, attended her. The next day she was again unwell, and on the twenty-fifth, she was so ill, that she was obliged to remain in bed. On the twenty-sixth, she was again unwell, and on the twenty-seventh, she was so ill, that she was obliged to remain in bed. On the twenty-eighth, she was again unwell, and on the twenty-ninth, she was so ill, that she was obliged to remain in bed. On the thirtieth, she was again unwell, and on the thirty-first, she was so ill, that she was obliged to remain in bed.

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swayed a sceptre unstained by cruelty or crime, never lost sight of him : their interest had not been wearied by his long seclusion, nor had their love expired in the flood of victories that distinguished the regency : the influence of his virtuous character, in preserving this nation from the contagion of French principles, the steady progress which civil and religious liberty had made under his auspices, the desire which he had ever evinced to improve the moral and intellectual condition of his people, still lived in their memory, and taught them to feel, when he descended into the grave, that a benefactor and a father had departed.

The formal accession of George IV. to the throne effected nothing more than a change in the title under which he had long governed the empire. The glories of his regency had eclipsed the splendor of preceding reigns ; and his elevation, at an epoch of great national distress, seemed only to forebode a melancholy contrast between the foreign triumphs of his early government and the domestic troubles by which they were soon succeeded : besides, to himself individually the assumption of this new dignity was followed by perplexities of no common magnitude : the result of his ill-judged marriage first alienated from him the affection of the people, who, with natural sympathy for an injured and helpless female, never forgave his original neglect and subsequent hostility toward his consort ; but the period of his accession to the throne, when he was induced to extend the limits of that hostility, gave her an opportunity of retaliation, which she did not fail to exercise.

The first public act of the new sovereign was to summon a council, at which, the emblems of office, having been surrendered by the officers of the crown, were immediately restored to their former possessors ; and all the privy-councillors in attendance being sworn members of the new board, took their places accordingly : his majesty then made a declaration, in which, after having feelingly alluded to the demise of his father, and his own long exercise of the royal prerogative, he observed, ‘ that the support which he had received from parliament and the country, in times most eventful, and circumstances most arduous, could alone inspire him with that confidence which his present situation demanded. He trusted, that experience of the past would satisfy all classes of his people, that it would ever be his anxious endeavor to promote their prosperity and happiness, as well as to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.’

At the humble request of the council, this declaration was made public ; and on Monday, the thirty-first, the king was proclaimed, with the usual forms, under the portico of the palace, and afterwards at Charing-cross, Temple-bar, and the other customary stations : on the same day, the members of parliament were sworn in, when they immediately adjourned to the seventeenth of February. During this recess, however, distressing reports arose concerning his majesty's health, which had suffered, not only from a rapid succession of domestic afflictions, but from personal exposure to inclement weather at his proclamation, which took place before he had completely recovered from a fit of the gout. A severe inflammation of the chest, the same disease which had lately proved fatal to his brother, created much alarm among his medical attendants ; but the melancholy foreboding, which originated from this seeming fatality, was happily not realised : his majesty was declared out of danger, after little more than a week ; but a considerable time elapsed before his health was re-established ; so that, when the obsequies of his royal father were celebrated, on the sixteenth of February, at Windsor, amidst a concourse of the great and noble of the land, the noblest was not present ; but the duke of York sustained the character of chief mourner.

According to the principles of our constitution, the demise of the crown is followed by a dissolution of parliament within the next six months : when the two houses therefore assembled, a royal message announced an immediate design of calling a new parliament, and invited them to concur in the necessary arrangements for carrying on the public service during the interval. Loyal addresses, suitable to the occasion, were unanimously voted ; and next day ministers obtained a pledge, that the desired measures for the wants of government should be adopted : when the necessary votes of money, however, were proposed in the commons, Mr. Hume took occasion to introduce a very embarrassing subject to their notice. By his majesty's command, in the necessary alteration of the form of prayer for the royal family, the name of her, who was legally become queen-consort, had been omitted ; and the honorable member, having taunted ministers with their care to avoid any allusion to her case, now desired to know what provision, out of the grant on the civil list, was intended for her support : as princess of Wales, her former allowance had of course ceased on the late king's demise ; and he asked, if she, as queen of Great Britain, was to be left to wander in beggary through foreign lands ; or whether parliament would make a suitable

provision for the maintenance of her dignified station. Lord Castlereagh endeavored to evade this delicate question, and elude an acknowledgement of the queen's title, by assuring the house, that the exalted personage under consideration should suffer no pecuniary difficulties: but Mr. Tierney, in reply, by commenting on the omission of her majesty's name from the liturgy, on the rumors in circulation against her character, and on the report of a commission sent abroad to collect evidence against her, strove to force ministers into a direct consideration of the question; concluding by a declaration, that he would not consent to vote one shilling of the public money, until they should either afford some explanation of the charges against her majesty, or pronounce her title in that house.

This speech was not more embarrassing to administration than to the queen's friends, especially Mr. Brougham, her legal adviser: accordingly, he endeavored to waive the subject intirely; refusing to admit that her title and right as queen-consort stood in need of any recognition by parliament; seeing nothing to prevent an advance of money to her majesty from the civil list, though her name should not be introduced; and deprecating any allusion to charges of which he knew nothing, but which, if they existed, the house might suppose, from her majesty's previous readiness to meet accusation, that she would not be slow to repel: after renewed attempts therefore by Mr. Tierney and others to provoke farther discussion, the vote was suffered to pass without a division; and when ministers had obtained the requisite authority for continuing the public payments, parliament was dissolved by commission on the twenty-eighth of February. The lord chancellor, in his speech on this occasion, after alluding to his majesty's disappointment in being prevented by indisposition from meeting them personally, and thus expressing his sense of their important services, referred, in vindication of their late enactments, to a flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which had just been detected, and was sufficient to open the eyes of the most incredulous regarding the dangers of the country.

The conspiracy thus glanced at was one of the most desperate that could have been conceived by bad men for the worst of purposes; its object being to overturn the government, and involve the national affairs in irremediable confusion, by the assassination of all the cabinet ministers. The chief leader in this diabolical plot was the notorious Arthur Thistlewood, who had once served as a subaltern officer in the West Indies; and, after imbibing republican principles in America, had confirmed

them by a residence in France during the worst era of the revolution: as an accomplice of the elder Watson, he had been tried with that demagogue; and on his acquittal he sent a challenge to lord Sidmouth, for which offence he had been sentenced to a fine and imprisonment: when liberated, he seems to have cherished a deep-seated thirst of revenge, and to have devoted his whole time to the accomplishment of that purpose; associating with the most depraved among the lowest classes, and gathering round him a number of individuals as desperate and reckless as himself. Of his immediate accomplices, the principal were Ings, a butcher; Davison, a creole; Brunt and Tidd, shoemakers: these, with a number of other desperadoes, determined, after a series of meetings, that the distress under which they were laboring was no longer to be endured, and that delay was useless: accordingly, they fixed on Wednesday, the twenty-third of February, for the explosion of their design; and on the preceding Sunday made the following arrangements for putting it into execution:—forty or fifty of the gang were to devote themselves to the task of assassinating his majesty's ministers, under a pledge of forfeiting their own lives, in case of failure through want of address or resolution; while other detachments were simultaneously to seize on the field-pieces at the Artillery-ground, and at the London Light-horse Station in Gray's Inn-lane: possessed of these, they were to occupy the Mansion-house, as the palace of their provisional government: the Bank was to be attacked; and the metropolis to be fired at several points. Similar meetings were held on Monday and Tuesday; on which latter day, an accomplice, named Edwards, assured Thistlewood, that a cabinet dinner would be given on the morrow, at lord Harrowby's house, in Grosvenor-square; and all doubts on the subject being removed by the announcement of this entertainment in the public papers, the chief conspirator exultingly observed,—‘As there has not been a dinner for a great length of time, there will no doubt be fourteen or sixteen present; and it will be a rare haul to despatch them altogether.’ Pursuant to the plan of operations, with this alteration, it was agreed, that a single conspirator should go with a note addressed to lord Harrowby; when, the outer door being opened, others should rush in: one party should then proceed to seize and bind the domestics, while another effected an entrance into the room containing the ministers, and perpetrated the horrid massacre. An injunction was laid on these murderers, that they should bring away the heads of lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth as trophies

of their success. From lord Harrowby's mansion, a few of the number were to repair instantly to the barracks in King-street, Portman-square, where, after firing the straw dépôt, they were to co-operate with the rest in executing the other parts of the scheme already detailed : in the mean time, strict watch was kept on the mansion in Grosvenor-square, in order to ascertain whether any of the police or military entered it, or were concealed in its vicinity : the whole day was consumed in preparations ; arms and ammunition were provided, and proclamations written, ready to be affixed to those edifices which were devoted to the flames. During this awful period, the infatuated wretches gradually crept toward their place of rendezvous ; and by six o'clock all had assembled within a stable situated in an obscure street, called Cato-street, near the Edgware-road : this building, comprising two upper rooms, the ascent to which was by a ladder, they had lately hired ; and in the largest of these, having placed a sentinel below, the conspirators were seen, by the glimmering light of one or two small candles, adjusting their accoutrements, and exulting in the speedy prospect of a bloody revenge.

Among these assassins, was a pretended colleague, but in reality a spy, the above-named Edwards ; who had for some time been in the pay of government, and had given regular intelligence to his employers of all the particulars connected with the plot. Every precaution, therefore, was adopted by ministers to lull suspicion : the apparent preparations for lord Harrowby's banquet were continued till eight o'clock in the evening ; and thus the conspirators were detected with arms in their hands : to effect this, a party of police, under the direction of Mr. Birnie, the magistrate, proceeded to the place of rendezvous, where it was intended that a detachment of the Coldstream guards should be ready to support them. About eight o'clock, the constables reached the spot, before the military ; when, having entered the building, and ascended the ladder, they surprised the gang in their loft, on the very point of starting to execute their detestable purpose : they were ordered to surrender ; and Smithers, an active police officer, rushing forward to secure the ringleader, was pierced through by his sword, and fell : the lights were then extinguished, and the conflict became general ; while some of the gang dashed down the ladder, as the officers grappled with them, and others forced their way out of a window in the back of the loft. At this juncture, captain Fitzclarence, and a detachment of thirty of the Coldstream guards, arrived, with fixed bayonets : at the

report of a pistol, they hastened to the spot, and secured one of the gang in the act of escaping, who fired a pistol at captain Fitzclarence, the aim of which was averted by serjeant Legge, whom it wounded in the discharge: the captain then ordered the men to follow him into the stable; but his entrance was opposed by a man of color, who aimed a blow at him with a cutlass, which one of the soldiers warded off with his musket: he also was secured; when all entered the stable, and mounted the loft, where five more were captured. The darkness so favored the escape of these wretches, that nine only were taken in the whole. Thistlewood effected his escape that night; but, in consequence of a reward of £1000 being offered for his apprehension, he was seized next morning in bed; and some others were apprehended during the two following days.

On the twenty-seventh of March, true bills, on a charge of high treason, were returned against eleven of the prisoners: on the seventeenth of the next month, Thistlewood was arraigned, and, after a trial of three days, condemned, chiefly on the testimony of Adams, one of the party who was allowed to turn king's evidence: Ings, Tidd, Brunt, and Davison also were severally tried and convicted: the other six, being permitted to withdraw their original plea, now pleaded guilty; when five were sentenced to transportation for life; and the sixth, who appeared to have been ignorant of the destined purpose of the meeting in Cato-street, received a free pardon. The throng of spectators at the execution of the five criminals was immense; and no little disgust was excited by the horrid spectacle of their mangled and decapitated remains: the time occupied in this business of hanging and mutilation was near an hour and a quarter; during which period, regiments of cavalry lined the adjacent streets; strong bodies of all branches of the military being disposed in various parts of the metropolis, as well during the trial as at the execution. Thistlewood himself, and three of his companions, died with great hardihood, glorying in their purpose, regretting only its failure, and declaring themselves martyrs to the prostituted name of liberty: so odious indeed to the multitude was that melancholy transaction, denominated the 'Manchester massacre,' which at their trial they professed it was their intention to avenge, that many who witnessed the punishment could not refrain from indulging in strong expressions of sympathy for the criminals.

This was a dreadful but an isolated crime; nor was there any reason for connecting it with the political commotions of

the preceding year, and casting such a stigma on the national character ; though, no doubt, the general feeling of discontent, now so prevalent, was the foundation on which the conspirators expected ultimate success : this discontent, with which the manufacturing districts of the north had been long agitated, broke out in the course of the spring into several overt acts of rebellion, giving alarming proofs of the extension of popular frenzy. In the west riding of Yorkshire, midnight training, the collection of fire-arms, and the manufacture of pikes, had continued through the winter ; but when the appointed time for a general insurrection arrived, 200 or 300 malcontents only had assembled in arms near Huddersfield ; and these fled in consternation at the rumored approach of a detachment of cavalry, leaving behind them a green standard and a number of pikes.

In Scotland, the efforts of the disaffected were more alarming : at Glasgow, numbers of the artisans, who were desirous of pursuing their avocations apart from the noisy turmoil of political convulsions, had been so repeatedly menaced by the favorers of riot and confusion, that they imagined they could no longer persevere in a peaceable line of conduct, without compromising the safety of themselves and their families : this panic was still farther increased on Sunday, the second of April, when a treasonable proclamation was posted on the city walls, supposed to emanate from 'the committee for the formation of a provisional government,' and recommending the master manufacturers to suspend their employments till order should be restored by the organisation alluded to : it farther enjoined all parties to desist from their avocations, and denounced as traitors any who should attempt to resist the projected amelioration of the state. In consequence of this inflammatory placard, the weavers and colliers of Glasgow and Paisley all declined to work on Monday ; and the example spread through various other branches of trade : several cotton mills, which commenced their usual business, were obliged to desist by threatening visits ; and the streets were crowded with loitering artisans, all in a strange state of idleness and expectation of the forthcoming mysterious revolution : as the promoters of it, however, did not appear, many were inclined to ascribe the whole to political *espionnage*, especially as the people then congregated made no attempt to disturb the public tranquillity ; seeming to be actuated more by motives of curiosity, and dread of secret agitators, than by any revolutionary zeal or desire of change.

Resistance however to the public authorities did show itself on one occasion, when a private belonging to the Stirling yeomanry, proceeding from Kilsyth to Falkirk, fell in with a radical crew, who demanded his arms: he refused, however, to surrender them, and, after escaping several shots, returned to his former quarters at Kilsyth; when the commanding officer immediately detached eleven of the cavalry, and as many yeomanry, to scour the road, and clear it of the insurgents. These in the mean time had been considerably reinforced; and, having found arms and food in the neighboring houses, posted themselves advantageously on a rising ground at Bonnymuir; though they subsequently abandoned it on the approach of the cavalry, and sought the protection of a wall: when behind this, they opened a fire on the soldiers, from whose charge they were farther defended by the boggy nature of the ground; hence the cavalry were obliged to make a circuitous approach to a gap, which offered readier means of access; which movement being perceived by the others, they ran in haste to dispute the passage, but the greater part hurried off to their respective homes; while of those who made a show of resistance, many were severely wounded, and nineteen captured. The majority of those implicated in this petty insurrection had arrived that morning from Glasgow, expecting to find a large multitude of associates, according to a preconcerted plan, from the neighboring districts: their intention, as it appeared, was to seize on the Carron iron-works; equip themselves there with arms, especially artillery; and thence institute a regular plan of operations: but by the judicious arrangements of the magistrates, aided by the military, their combinations were intirely broken; so that, instead of the four or five thousand expected to muster at Bonnymuir, not a hundred came to the place of rendezvous: all open rebellion, therefore, was crushed; in a few days, the storm passed over; and tranquillity succeeded to the frenzy of political commotion. A special commission being appointed to try the offenders, numerous convictions took place; but the royal clemency was extended to all except three persons, one of whom had been long known as a promoter of sedition, and the other two captured in open conflict with the cavalry: the behavior of these delinquents at their execution differed materially from that of Thistlewood and his coadjutors; for they exhibited a deep contrition for their political guilt, and were sensibly affected by religious feelings.

Meanwhile, the elections, though in many cases marked by

strong party contests, proceeded without any acts of outrageous violence: opposition gained a very slight accession to their numbers, and the new parliament appeared likely to take the complexion of that which preceded it. On the twenty-first of April, its members began to assemble, and were occupied in taking the requisite oaths till the twenty-third; on which day, Mr. Manners Sutton was unanimously rechosen speaker: on the twenty-seventh, his majesty opened the first session in person, declaring, in his speech, that he should follow his father's example in solicitude for the welfare of the nation; that economy should be observed in the public expenditure; and that the regal dignity should be supported without any additional burdens on the people: he expressed a determination to maintain public peace and tranquillity; lamented the pressure of distress, aggravated as it was by a spirit of sedition; and concluded with a hope, that the misguided multitude might be brought back to a proper sense of their errors. The king appeared on this occasion in good spirits, though not in strong health: the crowds assembled were unprecedented; and he was loudly cheered, both in his progress to the house, and on his return: but the most anxious period of his reign was fast approaching.

One of the first acts of the legislature referred to a subject of vital importance to the constitution: proof having been established of the venality and corruption prevailing in Grampound, lord John Russell had brought forward a bill in the last session of parliament for the purpose of disfranchising that borough, and transferring its elective privilege to Leeds: his lordship now resumed the prosecution of this measure; and the necessary preliminaries being adjusted, a second reading of the bill was moved on the nineteenth of May. Though scarcely any opposition manifested itself against the merited punishment of a disreputable borough, in which, as one of its corporate body observed, by way of palliation, 'there might perhaps be two or three voters who had taken no bribes;' yet, with regard to the disposal of its elective privilege, much conflict of opinion arose: but before the house could arrive at any decision on the subject, eventful circumstances occurred, which completely engrossed its attention, and annihilated, as it were, all other interest.

The noble mover of the bill, however, feeling secure that this corrupt borough would no longer disgrace the representation of the country, triumphantly exclaimed:—'Alas, the glory of Grampound is gone for ever! The electors will no more have

the pleasure of witnessing an honorable baronet sending, from pure motives of charity, confidential agents to relieve their distresses, and minister to their wants: no more shall they be delighted with the gratifying spectacle of the merchants of London contending for the honor of representing them in parliament: never again shall they have the satisfaction of almost murdering those who had the hardihood to propound to them the bribery oath.' This mock lamentation was cheered by all the friends of reform, and hailed as a favorable omen of the general sense of the house on the subject.

At this period, Sir James Mackintosh, who had already devoted much of his time and profound knowledge of jurisprudence to the renewed plan for amending our criminal code, moved for leave to bring in six bills, founded on the suggestions of the committee appointed to consider this important subject last session. Three out of these six, after much and lengthened discussion, especially in the upper house, finally passed into laws: the first was, to repeal the act, by which private stealing in shops, to the value of forty shillings, was made punishable by death; but, on the suggestion of the lord chancellor, that penalty was retained against those who should so steal to an amount exceeding ten pounds: the second went to repeal certain acts, which visited with capital punishment a class of actions which could hardly be considered as constituting moral guilt: by these, it had been rendered a capital crime for an Egyptian to remain one year within the realm; so also for notorious thieves to reside in Cumberland or Northumberland; and for any one to be found disguised in the Mint, or injuring Westminster-bridge: the third bill repealed various clauses in certain acts, which constituted the offences specified in them capital; and which, by this amended act, would be converted from capital into simple felonies. Of the offences thus modified, were the taking away any maid, wife, or widow, for the sake of her fortune; the receiving of stolen goods; the destroying of trees, breaking down banks of rivers, or wounding cattle; the sending of threatening letters; and all the capital offences created by the marriage act and laws of bankruptcy: to these several crimes, differing as they did in consequence, was attached, as the law yet stood, the indiscriminate penalty of death: this, however, with certain exceptions in special cases, was now altered to transportation, imprisonment, or hard labour, within the discretionary powers of the court. Thus, the statute-book of England was purified from many grievous stains; several gross anomalies, offensive both to reason and to

justice, were rectified; and unfading wreaths of civic glory worthily adorn the busts of Romilly and Mackintosh.

Mr. Brougham, having rendered an important service to his country by his efforts to establish a system for detecting and remedying abuses in charitable funds and establishments, now brought forward his celebrated plan for the education of the poor: but this subject, embracing so much to interest the feelings of society, and opening so large a field for discussion, was not destined to receive the concurrence of parties: though the object in view was generally admitted to be desirable, such were the difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, that almost every class of men had some objection to its being carried into effect. The main difficulty, however, and that which is thought principally to have determined its author to abandon it, arose from the dissenters: to them it appeared, that, at least, some enactments of the bill originated in imperfect information respecting the dissidents in this country; and they thought it strange, that a liberal statesman should have paid so little regard, not only to their numbers, property, and intelligence, but to their moral and religious character, as to subject the whole affair to the management of the clergy of the established church. The progress of the measure was watched assiduously by the committee of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, which also sent a deputation to confer with Mr. Brougham on those clauses that were thought objectionable; and the consequence was, that the bill, after having been read for the first time on the eleventh of July, was altogether abandoned. This failure, however, had no effect in damping Mr. Brougham's ardor in the cause of education: on the contrary, it served rather to give additional zeal to his endeavors, to promote the same benevolent object by other and better digested methods.

Another resolution of importance, moved by Mr. Holme Sumner, was for a select committee to take into consideration the agricultural state of the country: the table of the house was loaded with petitions from all quarters, complaining of distress on this score; and their general prayer was for additional restrictions: previous efforts to maintain prices at an unnatural height had all failed; the depression in the value of produce still continued; and the general cry of the agriculturists, eager to avert from themselves an evil which was in fact inevitable, was now for a high permanent duty in place of a limited prohibition: such views, however, were not entertained with similar complacency by the classes engaged in manufac-

tures and commerce; who, feeling equally the pressure of the times, anticipated no alleviation, but rather increased suffering, from any measure, however plausible, which tended to raise the price of corn.

The debates resulting from the motion of the honorable member for Surrey occupied much time and attention: it was seconded by Mr. Western, and supported by Mr. Gooch, both county members, who repeated the statement, that without protection, the agriculturists of this country were unable to compete with foreign growers; that the act of 1815 had afforded them little or no such protection; and that some measures more effectual were indispensable, though the speakers themselves declined to suggest them. Mr. F. Robinson, then president of the board of trade, deprecated the motion, as tending to excite hopes which could not be fulfilled: he ridiculed the absurdity of imagining, that any acts of the legislature could alter the depression, while not even the prohibition of imports had been able to raise prices to the protected level; and he blamed the unreasonable spirit and latent objects of the agriculturists, who, in declining to name a specific remedy, had either none to suggest, or only the monstrous proposition, which had been already broached, of a permanent duty of forty shillings: he was followed in the debate by Messrs. Baring and Ricardo; the latter of whom, celebrated for his profound knowledge of political economy, entered into a luminous exposition of the principles of that science, condemning all restrictions on the freedom of the corn trade as injurious in their tendency.

After a lengthened discussion, however, the party belonging to the landed interests in the house prevailed, and the motion for a committee was carried; but on the following evening ministers collected all their forces, and succeeded in neutralising its effect, by proposing that its inquiries should be limited to the best mode of ascertaining the weekly average of corn prices: this indeed was denounced by the opposite party as a bare-faced trick to annul the vote of the preceding night; but it passed by a large majority, and every material alteration of the corn laws was deferred for a season. To all that were disinterested on the subject, it seemed, that no immediate remedy for existing evils could be devised; and that the only hope of effectually removing the general distress, must arise from the lenient hand of time, and a continuance of peace; when a perseverance in rigid economy and careful retrenchment might authorise a gradual diminution of taxation, and an increase of

foreign demand might carry off our abundant supplies of merchandise. Indeed, a commercial question of still greater importance than that which had lately occupied the house, was at this period introduced by petitions from the cities of London and Glasgow, in favor of free trade. The comparative stagnation of foreign commerce since the peace, and the desire of giving new impulse to its activity at any risks, had occasioned a very general repugnance among mercantile men to that system of international restrictions, under which our trade had formerly been supposed to flourish with extraordinary vigor. The general advantages of unrestricted commerce had for some time been recognised by political economists; but the doctrine was little relished by British merchants, so long as this country, by her maritime superiority during seasons of war, had enjoyed a monopoly over other nations: it appeared also, notwithstanding many strong arguments raised on abstract philosophical principles, to be a doubtful point which could be resolved only by experience, whether a state, so favored by maritime position and superior enterprise as to have gained the carrying-trade of the world, can profit by admitting others to a participation of its advantages; more especially, when the exertions of that state, which has acquired such a superiority, are clogged by financial distresses, from which its rivals are comparatively free. Whatever weight may be due to these considerations, it is certain, that at this time the opposite opinions had gained hold extensively, not only on political economists, but on mercantile men themselves; and that they were not discouraged by the leading members of administration.

The petition of the London merchants was presented to the house of commons by Mr. A. Baring, one of the most eminent men of their community both for wealth and intelligence, who prefaced it with an able and well-digested speech; the main scope of which was to impress on the house the doctrine, that freedom from restriction is calculated to give the utmost extension to foreign trade, as well as the best direction to the capital and industry of the country; that the maxim, of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, which regulates an individual merchant, is strictly applicable as the best rule for the trade of the whole nation: no formal motion, however, on the subject was entertained by the commons during this session; but in the house of lords the propriety of a change in our commercial policy was formally suggested by lord Lansdowne on the twenty-sixth of May. After an able speech, the leading principles of which were directed to the

abolition of all duties absolutely prohibitory, to a relaxation of the navigation laws, to the cultivation of trade with France, and to the opening of the East India monopoly,—he concluded by a motion for a committee of inquiry concerning the foreign trade of the empire.

This proposal elicited a remarkable speech from the earl of Liverpool, in which his lordship, as head of the administration, declared his assent to the principles of free trade; expressing his belief, that it would have been better for the world if those principles had always been acted on; and advising the recognition of such exceptions only, as the actual policy of the world and the existing laws of the country dictated: for instance, he defended the continuance of protection to the British growers of corn, as well as to persons engaged in the silk trade: the peculiar situation of Ireland also, in his opinion, demanded equal hesitation before duties were removed from foreign linen, by which the chief manufacture of that island was protected: but after a general caution on these and some other details, he gave his cordial assent to the proposal for a committee; and the motion was unanimously carried.

The civil list, after the rejection of a motion for inquiry made by lord John Russell, was settled at £1,057,000; and on the nineteenth of June the chancellor of the exchequer produced his financial statement. In the army estimates there was an increase of £804,000, owing to the augmentation of force required by the peculiar state of the country: the estimate also of naval expenditure went beyond that of the preceding year by £150,000, being calculated at £5,586,000; while the sum total for the service of the year, including the interest of the debt, was estimated at £50,500,000. The ways and means proposed to meet this enormous expenditure, were, exclusive of permanent revenues, a continuation of the customary annual taxes, amounting to £3,000,000 sterling; the sum of £2,500,000, from the produce of the temporary excise duties, which had remained in force since the war; £240,000 arising from the lottery; £260,000 from old naval stores; exchequer bills for £7,000,000, to be funded; and £12,000,000, taken from that sacred depository, the sinking fund.

All questions, however, financial, commercial, or political, were at this period interrupted by the arrival of queen Caroline from Italy, whither she had retired from persecution by the advice of Mr. Canning, in 1814. The whole cabinet, as well as the king, was thrown into consternation by this event; all the preparations which had been made for his majesty's

coronation were deferred ; and the public mind soon became engaged by one exciting and engrossing topic, the mutual declaration of war between George IV. and his consort : it is necessary, however, to a right understanding of this contest, that some previous movements should be detailed.

While the high personage in question was occupied in travelling, her name was seldom brought before the public, except in casual extracts from some foreign journals : but though the multitude appeared to be regardless almost of her existence, subsequent disclosures showed that the conduct of her royal highness had been strictly scrutinised, and inquiries instituted, in order to ascertain, if possible, what credit was due to reports, which, if true, would fix the most degrading stigma on her character ; since she was charged with no less a dereliction of her duty, than that of living in open adultery with an Italian courier, named Bergami, whom she had raised from that low station to the first office in her household. Accordingly, the British government thought proper to send commissioners to the German and Italian states, for the purpose of collecting evidence respecting such transactions ; but their labors were not divulged, nor were any measures of publicity adopted, arising out of information thus obtained.

In consequence, however, of these movements, it is supposed that Mr. Brougham, the princess's legal and confidential adviser, made a proposal, in June, 1819, to lord Liverpool, that the income of £35,000 per annum, at that time enjoyed by her royal highness, but which was to expire on the demise of George III., should be secured to her for life, provided she consented to reside constantly abroad, without ever assuming the rank and title of queen of England. This singular proposition was stated at the time to be made without the cognisance, authority, or even knowlege of the princess : the reply from the government signified, that no indisposition would be felt, at the proper season, to give due attention to its terms, provided they received the sanction of her royal highness. Thus the negociation terminated for the present : but when, by the accession of George IV., his consort became *de facto* queen of Great Britain, it then seemed necessary to government, that some line of conduct should be taken regarding her, which might prevent disclosures that were on all accounts to be deprecated : a compromise, therefore, founded on Mr. Brougham's former proposal, was submitted to that gentleman, to be transmitted to the princess ; and in lieu of £35,000, it was now proposed that she should receive £50,000

per annum, on condition of her renouncing the royal title, and residing permanently out of the realm: by some fatality, however, the document containing this proposal was never communicated to the principal party concerned; while the great distance at which Mr. Brougham was stationed from his illustrious client offered an insuperable bar to that prompt despatch which was peculiarly desirable on so important an occasion. The queen, who had been making an excursion in the French dominions, returned to Tuscany at the beginning of February, 1820, at which period no official intelligence had reached her of the death of George III.; so that she was apprised of that event only by the public journals, which also indicated the omission of her name in the liturgy. Toward the end of the same month, she visited Rome, where she immediately assumed her royal title, and demanded a guard of honor from the papal government: in reply to which requisition, cardinal Gonsalvi stated, that having received no official communication on the subject from the king or his ministers, his holiness did not know that the queen of England was in Rome, and consequently could not grant her a guard of honor.

Incensed by this answer, her majesty drew up a narrative, dated March 16, describing the various insults she had received from foreign courts, particularly from that of Austria, and the representatives of the court of Hanover; by which she had been driven to the necessity of selling her villa on the lake of Como, and taking refuge in the Roman states: she also stated, that she had written to lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, demanding that her name should be inserted in the liturgy, and orders given to all British ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, to receive and acknowledge her as queen; also that a palace should be prepared for her in England, her real home, to which she intended immediately to repair. 'I have dismissed,' she said, 'my Italian court, retaining only a sufficient number of persons to conduct me to England; and if Buckingham-house, Marlborough-house, or any other palace is refused me, I shall take a house in the country, till my friends can find one for me in London.' This document, together with her letter to lord Liverpool, appeared in the English newspapers about the middle of April, and their extensive circulation excited a general idea that the queen was rapidly proceeding toward this country: various reasons, however, concurred, which induced her to prolong her sojourn at Rome; so that she did not arrive at Geneva till the ninth of May; from which place she despatched a letter to Mr. Brougham, requiring his attendance,

either there, or at one of the French sea-ports. In consequence of this communication, a consultation was held by Messrs. Brougham and Denman, aided by other friends of the queen; the result of which was a humble request, that her majesty would, without loss of time, repair to Calais, whence there was a ready communication with the shores of England; it being at that juncture impossible to foretell how many subjects might make it necessary for the queen's law officers to have access to, and consult her, respecting her views or wishes.

Pursuant to this advice, her majesty quitted Geneva, directing Mr. Brougham to meet her, on the thirtieth of May, at St. Omers; but during her route thither, she was joined by lady Anne Hamilton, who had formerly belonged to her household; and by alderman Wood, one of the representatives of the city of London, who at this time was a great favorite with the working classes and lower orders of people. It appeared afterwards, that, from the time of her quitting the British shores, she had been in correspondence with this gentleman; and his advice, proceeding from a conviction that the rumors against her were unfounded, and that her presence would occasion the greatest possible embarrassment to government, was, that she should come at once to England. 'He knew,' says Mr. Cobbett, 'the disposition of the people with regard to her and with regard to her husband; and her return was most anxiously desired by every friend of popular rights.'¹⁵

Her majesty's movements, which, prior to the appearance of these friends on the scene, had been marked by tardiness and vacillation, now became rapid and determined: on the twentieth, she arrived at Villeneuve le Roi, whence she wrote two letters, one to the duke of York, and another to lord Liverpool, declaratory of her intention to be in London within five days; reiterating also her demand of a palace, and requesting that a royal yacht might be in readiness at Calais to convey her to the British shores. This promptitude showed that her majesty viewed her situation in an altered light; for the day on which she now fixed for her entry into London, was the very next to that on which Mr. Brougham could, by any possibility, meet her, according to her appointment, at St. Omers: that gentleman, however, accompanied by lord Hutchinson, a personal friend of the king, who was entrusted with a confidential communication, sent forward a courier to the place of rendezvous, and arrived himself on the third of June: here, how-

¹⁵ History of George IV. § 423.

ever, an intricate, and as yet unravelled piece of diplomacy, disturbed all arrangements. Ministers, having determined, from the evidence in their possession, that the queen never could be received in England with the honors due to royalty, and being anxious to avert the necessity of laying that evidence before the public eye, indulged to the last moment a hope that she would agree to the terms of remaining abroad, rather than risk the consequence of such a disclosure.

The communication which Mr. Brougham had been directed to submit to her majesty on this subject in April, was understood by them as forming the basis of his negotiation, whenever he might have a personal interview with her; and the task which lord Hutchinson had undertaken was considered as wholly unnecessary in the event of a successful issue to the proposition of the queen's own advocate: all his lordship had to do, was, in the extreme case of a rejection by the queen of the ministerial overtures, to present himself before her majesty, in virtue of his relations of friendly confidence both with herself and the king; to impress on her mind the important resolve which government had felt itself compelled to make; and to convince her, that no other alternative remained, if she persisted in her resolution of landing in Great Britain, than to exhibit against her a public charge of adultery. All hopes however of success in this arrangement were frustrated by the immediate introduction of lord Hutchinson to her majesty, who was informed by Mr. Brougham, that his lordship was entrusted with a message to her from the king: his situation at this interview was peculiarly embarrassing; and though it lasted a considerable time, no conversation arose, except on topics foreign to its purpose: her majesty could hardly be expected to begin such a subject, and his lordship could not allude to it himself; since his commission was not to commence, until a complete failure of Mr. Brougham's negotiations should render it necessary. After this, a correspondence took place; and the queen demanded, through Mr. Brougham, that lord Hutchinson should instantly submit his proposition in writing: his lordship, in reply, stated, that he had only with him some scattered memoranda on scraps of paper, and intimated a wish of communicating his message verbally: the queen, however, in her answer, expressed much surprise that he was not ready to state the terms of a proposition, of which he was the bearer; and, to give him the opportunity of arranging them, declared she would wait till five o'clock in the evening: a few minutes before that time, his lordship made his inauspicious attempt at

mediation in a letter, the principal terms of which were, that ministers proposed to settle £50,000 per annum on her majesty for life, subject to such conditions as the king might impose: those conditions, he had reason to know, were, that she was not to assume the style and title of queen of Great Britain, or any other title attached to the royal family of England; also that she was not to reside in England, or even to visit that country: the consequence of such visit would be an immediate message to parliament, and an intire end of all compromise or negociation: to this letter, which concluded with the writer's earnest supplication that her majesty would take the proposition it contained into calm consideration, and not misinterpret the advice of one who could have no motive in giving her fallacious counsel,—an answer was instantly returned, rejecting the proposal, as one that could not be listened to for a moment. Lord Hutchinson, who appears to have been wholly unprepared for so peremptory a refusal, attempted to renew the negociation by a note to Mr. Brougham, intimating a desire of sending a courier to England for new instructions; and proposing to become the medium, through which any offer the queen might wish to make, should be conveyed to the British government: but her majesty, having discharged her foreign suite, including her chamberlain and supposed paramour, had left St. Omers before this note arrived: so abruptly indeed had she quitted the hotel, that Mr. Brougham himself was scarcely sensible of her leaving the apartment, till he beheld her rapidly passing by in a carriage, with alderman Wood and lady Anne Hamilton. Arriving at Calais about half-past ten at night, she proceeded, without waiting for her carriages, to the pier; and, though the tide was out, insisted on being put on board the packet immediately: this extreme haste she ascribed to her fear of the French government, and the influence which her husband was known to possess with the heads of it. Lord Hutchinson's last note, despatched after her by Mr. Brougham, found her majesty on board; but neither its terms, nor his added supplication, could induce her to change her purpose: irritated by studied insults abroad, incensed by threats of ministerial vengeance, brooding over the treatment she had met with at her husband's hands, and, above all, assured of that popular support which she expected would carry her through all difficulties or dangers, this infuriated woman reached the shores of England on the sixth of June. Neither the king nor his ministers contemplated her arrival: no orders had been sent to Dover; and the commandant received her

with a royal salute, while the multitude met her on the beach with acclamations, banners, and every sign of popular enthusiasm. Her progress to London was like a triumphal procession; and at the metropolis, at least 200,000 persons received her with shouts of joy, and would have conducted her at once to Carlton-house, had she not been induced to go to alderman Wood's mansion in South Audley-street. It was not that the great body of the people believed the queen wholly innocent of the charges brought against her; 'but,' says one who well knew their feelings, 'they, in their sense of justice, went back to the time when she was in fact turned out of her husband's house, with a child in her arms, without blame of any sort having been imputed to her: they compared what they had *heard* of the wife, with what they had *seen* of the husband; and they came to their determination accordingly: as far as related to the question of guilt or innocence, they cared not a straw; but they took a large view of the matter; they went over her whole history; they determined that she had been wronged, and they resolved to uphold her.'

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The queen's arrival at Calais, on her road to England, had been communicated to ministers by telegraph; and their deliberations in council were held during several hours of the night, and the whole morning of the sixth of June: the result was, that the king was obliged to take the field against a woman, whose

unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield,

interested the generous feelings of the British people in her favor; while the distress of the times and the arts of designing demagogues engaged on her side all that base portion of the populace, which is the chief cause and instrument of confusion.

As parliament was now sitting, his majesty took the opportunity of going in state to the house of lords, to give his royal assent to some bills; and when he had left the house, lord Liverpool brought down a message, to be read from the woolsack, with a communication of certain papers relative to the conduct of her majesty since her departure from the kingdom, which he recommended to the immediate and serious attention of the house. The papers referred to were laid on the table, under seal, in a green bag; a similar message, with a sealed bag,

¹⁶ Cobbett's History of George IV. § 425.

being presented to the house of commons by lord Castlereagh : both ministers announced their intention of moving for an address to the king, and a reference of the papers to a secret committee, on the following day. The notification of lord Liverpool provoked no discussion among the peers ; but Mr. Grey Bennet, and several other members of opposition in the commons, expressed themselves on the subject with great asperity.

The proceedings of both houses on the seventh were regarded with deep interest : lord Liverpool, having moved a ceremonial address, containing no pledge or opinion, proposed that the papers on the table should be submitted to a secret committee of fifteen peers, to be appointed by ballot ; having for its object to inquire whether any, and what course of proceeding, should be adopted. The address was agreed to without opposition, and the secret committee formed on the following day ; when lords Erskine and Lansdowne, being among the members appointed, thought proper to withdraw their names.

In the house of commons there was much more excitement : when the time came for taking into consideration the king's message, the minister was anticipated by Mr. Brougham, who presented a communication from her majesty, setting forth that she had returned to England for the purpose of maintaining her innocence and rights ; protesting against any secret tribunal appointed by her accusers ; complaining of the insults she had received from foreign courts, influenced by that of Great Britain, as well as from our ambassadors, and other diplomatic agents ; and concluding with an appeal to the justice of the commons of England. After this document had been read, and the cheers with which it was received had subsided, lord Castlereagh rose, and declared that ministers were neither persecutors nor prosecutors ; that the king's communication was most gracious ; that the secret committee was only a preliminary step to ascertain whether there was any case to proceed with ; and that the conduct of an illustrious personage should not be judged without open inquiry and examination of evidence. The appointment of the committee was strongly resisted by Mr. Brougham ; since he contended, that although not final, it must deeply affect her majesty's character : he proceeded to a minute examination of the proposals made to her through lord Hutchinson, which he reprobated in the severest terms. Mr. Canning replied to this accusation, and vindicated the course taken by ministers ; declaring that they

had interposed every possible expedient to prevent the present calamity; and, alluding to the propositions originating with Mr. Brougham in 1819, he declared fearlessly, that there was not one of the terms offered to her majesty, which had not its prototype in the suggestions then made to government for the guidance of its conduct. Toward the conclusion of his speech, he lamented the failure of the negotiations at St. Omers, though he attached no blame to the conduct of the honorable gentleman and the noble lord: advice, no doubt, had been given to her majesty, which, if it had not proceeded from bad intention, was not characterised by absolute wisdom: that advice, however, by frustrating the negotiation, had forced this appeal to parliament: finally, he declared that he should take no farther share in these deliberations. Once more, however, he interfered, but with a tone of respect and kindly feeling toward the queen; and when the cabinet determined to proceed against her, he resigned his office. After several other members had delivered their opinions, Mr. Wilberforce rose to recommend a short delay; in the hope, that during such an interval, some mode of compromise might be discovered, to prevent this disgusting investigation, which was likely to be so injurious to the character of royalty, as well as to the morals of the public. Lord Castlereagh, though he anticipated little good from the proposed delay, would not oppose this motion, as it marked the spirit which pervaded the house; a spirit, in unison with that on which ministers themselves had acted. The house in consequence adjourned to the Friday following.

Nearly two days elapsed without any overture on either side; until the queen, yielding to the advice of friends, made a communication to lord Liverpool, through Mr. Brougham; in which, deferring to the expressed opinion of the house of commons, she declared herself ready to take into consideration any arrangement consistent with her dignity and honor. Lord Liverpool, in reply, referred her to the memorandum placed in the hands of her own attorney-general; and the queen declared, that this document, which had been superseded by lord Hutchinson's proposition, was now submitted to her for the first time: but, she added, the recognition of her rank and privileges must form the basis of any arrangement. Ministers felt and expressed surprise, that the memorandum had not been sooner communicated to her majesty; and declared, that any proposition on the king's part must have for its basis the queen's residence abroad: her majesty then declared, that her dignity and honor being secured, she was willing to leave her cause in

the hands of any person or persons of high station and character, whom both parties might select, their decision being, of course, subject to the approbation of parliament: this proposal was accepted, with the single reservation, that any arrangement should be subject to his majesty's pleasure; and, in consequence, the duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh were appointed on behalf of the king; Messrs. Brougham and Denman being nominated by the queen. Meanwhile, parliament was farther adjourned; and the referees met, for the first time, on the fifteenth of June, at lord Castlereagh's house, in St. James's-square. The protocol, at this conference, set forth, that 'the queen must not be understood to admit, nor the king to retract, any position;' with which insuperable barrier before them, the negociators finished as they began; for it was contended, *in limine*, on her majesty's behalf, that her name should be inserted in the liturgy; but this was refused on behalf of the king: both parties were immoveable; and the conference was broken up. When this rupture of the negociation was reported to the house of commons on the nineteenth, Mr. Wilberforce gave notice that he had a motion for the following day; but when the time of making it arrived, he requested, and obtained farther delay: though urged to state the nature of his proposition, he carefully guarded the mysterious secret till the twenty-second, when it came out in two resolutions, expressing regret at the recent failure of negociations, and soliciting her majesty to gratify the house by conceding a few points, for the sake of an amicable arrangement. An amendment was proposed by lord Archibald Hamilton, the object of which was the insertion of the queen's name in the liturgy: an animated debate then ensued, in which the speech of Sir Francis Burdett, in censure of ministers, produced an electrifying effect on the house; and he sat down amid loud and universal cheering. Mr. Canning, rising to reply, began by stating, that, however much provoked by the honorable baronet's speech, he should abstain, on the present occasion, from entering the lists with him: the conduct of ministers was a question, which the house would soon have an opportunity of discussing; and come that question when it might, ministers, either as a body or as individuals, would be fully prepared to meet it. It was not from want of readiness that he now declined the contest: whatever might be the fate of this night's question, ample opportunities for justification would occur; and he would then be quite ready to meet any opponent with arms, he hoped, of as keen a temper, as any that had

been, or could be, wielded against him; with denial and defiance, with vindication and retort, equal to those of the most boisterous accuser or noisy cheerer, who raised his voice on the present occasion. This magniloquent courage provoked a sarcastic retort from Mr. Tierney, who observed, that 'as the better part of valor was discretion, he commended Mr. Canning's prudence, in postponing his defence of ministers till the effect of Sir Francis's speech was done away: the very fact proved that it was unanswerable.' The best comment, indeed, on Mr. Canning's boast, was, that he left his friends to vindicate themselves, and relieved himself from the necessity of redeeming his pledge by the resignation of his office. Mr. Wilberforce's motion, being supported by ministers, was carried by a majority of 391 to 134.

At this time, fears began to be entertained by a certain party, who desired to retain the queen as an instrument to promote their own designs, lest she should retire from the scene, and avoid the troubles rising fast around her, by returning to the continent: hence the most strenuous efforts were made to support her spirits, and encourage her resolution: under the covert agency of designing demagogues, every expedient was employed to instil into her mind the notion that she was the idol of the people; while the passions of the mob were inflamed, and their processions marshalled, in order to promote the scheme. One of the chief actors in this pantomime was the celebrated political writer, William Cobbett, who addressed several letters to her majesty on the subject, written in that simple, clear, and energetic style, which is so calculated to impose on credulity. 'It was feared,' he says, 'that she would go, even on the dishonorable terms proposed: every effort that I could make in public I made to prevent this; and I made every effort in private also.'¹⁷ In his very first communication with her majesty, he observes, 'that the offer made in her name to quit the country, has filled the women's eyes with tears, and the men's hearts with a feeling, which never before existed in them with regard to her majesty;' and he implores her to be convinced, 'that no terms, no conditions, no qualifications, can, in the public estimation, remove the impression which the consenting to abandon her country must necessarily make; the fatal consequences of which he can clearly foresee, but has not the heart to describe.' Fearful of the effect which Mr. Wilberforce's motion might produce, he

¹⁷ History of George IV. § 428.

writes again to the queen, in terms apparently of the most friendly regard, pointing out the snare, though feeling certain that 'her majesty has too much sagacity not to perceive it.' That gentleman's address, he observes, 'is intended to place her in this dilemma; namely, to give up to ministers, or to incur the ill-will of the commons; much therefore will depend on the answer given to it;' and he presumes to advise, that 'this answer should explicitly reject the advice offered by the address, in a manner calculated to flatter rather than to wound the pride of the house; also that it should contain incidentally an expression of her fixed determination to remain *at home*—that word, so sweet to English ears; and so electrifying, if it were to come from the pen of her majesty.' This letter, the writer states, was not without its effect; for the queen was induced to decline the advice of the commons; and the deputation, consisting of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Banks, Mr. Stuart Wortley, and Sir Thomas Acland, were, on their return, hissed and hooted by the populace: men were appointed to carry green bags suspended to long poles, before them, and their coachmen were compelled to go at a snail's pace, in order that the deputies might have the benefit of hearing the sentiments of the people. In her answer to an address from the city of London, voted a short time afterwards at a common council, she made the following declaration:—'In the many and deep sorrows and afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived unspeakable consolation from the zealous and constant attachment of this warm-hearted, just, and generous people; to live *at home* with, and to cherish whom, will be the chief happiness of the remainder of my days.' 'Thus,' says the author above-quoted, in a passage which exhibits no bad specimen of his peculiar style, and of the art with which he contrives to soften the dark shades of a malignant purpose by lights of generous feeling and of honest sympathy; 'thus she was fixed; thus this grand point was decided, to the lacerating mortification of all the sons and daughters of corruption, and to the mortification of nobody more than to that of the legal advisers of her majesty; who were fairly beaten here, and beaten, too, by the man whom they hated more than they hated adders and toads. I will not pretend that vindictive feeling had nothing to do with my conduct on this occasion: I had been two years in jail, and had paid a thousand pounds fine besides, for an act which merited the applause and admiration of all good men; and this king had my thousand pounds in his pocket: I had been driven across the

Atlantic; I had been stripped of every farthing I had in the world; I had been torn from my farm, to earn which I had worked like a horse for twenty years; I had been made a bankrupt, and was then in the rules of the king's bench, in consequence of these two houses, and this king, having passed laws, to enable Sidmouth and Castlereagh to put me in a dungeon at their pleasure. I will not pretend that the feeling created by these injuries had no effect on my conduct here; and for what purpose has God placed resentment in the breast of man, if it be not to prevent oppression, by showing those who possess power that they are not always safe to exercise it in the doing of wrong? How would it be possible for justice long to continue in the world, if those who have power were always safe from the resentment of the oppressed? But, leaving this out of the question, what part more friendly could I have acted towards this poor queen? The king had distinctly accused her in his message to the two houses; he had consented to her having a pension, and not to prosecute her, if she would go away, and live out of the kingdom. Where is there a human being, who would not have concluded that she was conscious of her guilt, if she had gone away? No matter on what terms; every one would have concluded that she was conscious of guilt; and that very people, who sustained her with so much generosity, and such matchless resolution, would never have consented to her receiving one farthing out of their earnings in the way of pension: therefore, I was a faithful adviser of the queen, at the same time I availed myself of her cause to further what I deemed the political interests of the people.'

The foregoing extracts have been quoted, because without this key, the conduct of the unfortunate queen cannot be justly estimated: she had indeed legal advisers, on whom much obloquy was thrown at the time, and probably with much injustice; for, as in the case of a government, when a party behind the throne counteracts the designs of administration; so in this unhappy affair responsible advisers were placed in the foreground, while the influential persons stood out of view.

Every hope of conciliation being now at an end, the commons, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, voted a farther adjournment, in order to leave initiative proceedings to the house of lords; but the parliamentary discussions, as well as the publication of negociations and conferences, with comments by partisans on each side, turned the whole kingdom into one great arena of disputation, in the interest of which all other

interests appeared to merge. On the fourth of July, the secret committee made their report; stating, 'that the charges appeared calculated so deeply to affect, not only the honor of the queen, but also the dignity of the crown, that in their opinion it was necessary they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry, which might best be effected in the course of a legislative proceeding.'

Next day, lord Dacre, who, on the twenty-sixth of June, had presented a petition from the queen, protesting against any secret inquiry, and requesting time to bring her witnesses from abroad, as well as to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house, presented another, in which she demanded to be heard by counsel against the report: but the motion made for this purpose was negatived; and, on the sixth of July, the earl of Liverpool, in pursuance of the committee's recommendation, brought in a bill of pains and penalties, or moved for an act of parliament, according to precedents in former ages, which might pronounce the queen guilty of adulterous intercourse, degrade her from her exalted station, and dissolve the marriage between her and the king. According to the forms observed in the house of lords, it was requisite that this bill should be read a first time, as a preliminary step to the introduction of evidence: this being done, a copy of it was sent to her majesty through the hands of Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, usher of the black rod; and the seventeenth of August was fixed for the second reading, when the trial of her majesty may be said actually to have commenced: on that day, there appeared, in support of the bill, Sir R. Gifford and Sir J. Copley, the king's attorney and solicitor-general; Sir C. Robinson, the king's advocate-general; Dr. Adams, a civilian; and Mr. Parke, an outer barrister: on the part of the queen, appeared her attorney-general, Mr. Brougham; her solicitor-general, Mr. Denman; Dr. Lushington, a civilian; with Messrs. Williams, Tindal, and Wilde, outer barristers: Mr. Maule, solicitor to the treasury, assisted by Mr. Powel, an attorney, who had been employed at Milan in collecting evidence, acted as agent for the bill; and Mr. Vizard, as agent for the accused.

On the eleventh of July, the queen petitioned, and on the fourteenth, lord Erskine moved, that she should be furnished with a list of the times and places specified in the charges, as well as of the witnesses to be brought against her: this advantage, however, which she would have had in the case of impeachment, it was thought proper to withhold. If the slightest hopes of conciliation yet remained, they were di-

persed by the queen's 'Letter to the King,' written under the influence of her secret advisers, recapitulating her wrongs past and present, and attacking with infinite force and bitterness both her husband and the parliament. 'Even,' she said, 'on the slave-mart, the cries of, O my mother! O my child! have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice; but your advisers, more inhuman than slave-dealers, remorselessly tore the mother from the child. . . . Your court was the scene, not of polished manners and refined intercourse, but of low intrigue and scurrility, in which spies, bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators swarmed.' Speaking of the house of lords, she says, 'To regard such a body as a court of justice, would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress the expression of my opinion, would be to lend myself to my own destruction, and to an imposition on the nation and the world. I protest against this species of trial: I demand it in a court, where the jurors are taken impartially from among the people, and the proceedings are open and fair: I will not, except compelled by force, submit to any sentence not pronounced by a court of justice.'

In the mean time, the address of the city of London was followed by others from innumerable cities, towns, and villages of the united kingdom. 'The press and the people,' it has been truly said, 'were not idle; nor was the queen herself idle: she took a mansion at Hammersmith, on the banks of the Thames, called Brandenburg-house; and thither processions of one sort or other, with addresses, went every day, except Sundays; and sometimes four or five a day, each containing, on an average, 30,000 people: she was soon obliged to appoint certain days in the week for receiving them: the other days she devoted to rides into different parts of the city and its environs; so that, except in the hours of darkness, she lived in an incessant noise and bustle. Her husband, the sovereign, had some noise to endure too; but it was of a very different description: in their processions to and from London to address the queen, they generally stopped opposite his palace; and in shouts to have made him hear if he had been in the clouds, they made him acquainted with their way of thinking, and their resolution with regard to him: he was compelled sometimes to go from London to the cottage, and from the cottage to London: he took care to move in the dark; but it was surprising with what accuracy the people ascertained his intended movements, and how duly they saluted him as he

passed.’¹⁸ While the lower stream of public opinion was thus swelling to a torrent, on which the queen was buoyed up; the opposite party were busily employed in preparing for the approaching investigation; in aid of which, many witnesses, principally drawn from the Italian states, were rapidly arriving at different ports: one party of these, on landing at Dover, were so roughly handled by the populace, that they were re-conveyed back to Holland; whence they were subsequently brought up the Thames to London: there all were provided with a lodging in Cotton-garden, a spot contiguous to the two houses of parliament, being under the protection of large bodies of military stationed in the neighborhood, and an armed vessel, carrying about sixteen guns, on the river.

On the seventeenth of August, soon after nine in the morning, the lords began to take their places; having had to make their way through mobs of the most terrific description, which surrounded the two houses, and filled all the streets in the vicinity: the judges were requested to assist at the deliberations; and the names of the peers having been called over at ten, lord Liverpool moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill of pains and penalties: the duke of Leinster opposed this measure; and moved that the order should be rescinded: on a division, however, the amendment was negatived, and the earl of Liverpool then moved that counsel be called in, and heard in support of the preamble of the bill.

The earl of Carnarvon, in a very able speech, stated his reasons for opposing the present measure; when a discussion took place, questioning the propriety of the course about to be pursued; for it was thought by many, that the crime of which the queen was accused amounted to high treason, and demanded a different mode of trial: the doubts arising on this point were submitted to the judges; who, having conferred together in private, delivered their opinion in favor of the method pursued by government: the act of a foreigner, it was said, who owed no allegiance to the crown, could not amount to high treason; and unless there were a man who could be legally charged with that crime, it could not be said that treason had been committed. When the counsel made their appearance at the bar, Mr. Brougham obtained leave to state his objections to the principle of the bill in its present state of

¹⁸ Cobbett's History of George IV. § 438.

progress, which he did at great length, and with extraordinary ability : indeed, the speeches of the advocates on both sides of this exciting question may be perused as models of high order in their respective styles of forensic eloquence ; but the great length to which they ran prohibits their insertion in these pages, while a scanty epitome would be an act of injustice toward their authors. Mr. Brougham, taking advantage of the popular feeling that had been exhibited, concluded with appealing to the sagacity and fears, as well as to the honor of their lordships :—‘ True it is,’ he said, ‘ that your committee has reported in favor of the bill, but that cannot pledge the house ; and he is the greatest of all fools, who consults his apparent consistency at the expense of his absolute ruin : the sooner you retrace the step into which you may have been led at an unwary moment, the greater will be the service you render to your country : if you decide that this bill ought not to proceed, you will be the saviors of the state.’ Mr. Denman followed on the same side, with a speech of great eloquence, during which he was interrupted by a sudden movement around him, caused by the entrance of her majesty, who came unexpectedly to witness the proceedings. After hearing her solicitor-general declare, that whatever might be the consequences of that investigation, whatever the sufferings inflicted on her majesty, he would never withdraw from her that homage and respect, which were due to her high station, her superior mind, and those resplendent virtues which had shone through her life of persecution ; that he would never pay to any other who might usurp her place, that respect and duty which belonged to her,—the queen withdrew ; having been treated by the house with every mark of respect. The speeches of her counsel were answered with consummate ability by the king’s attorney and solicitor-general ; and Mr. Brougham, in reply, urged a variety of arguments in favor of his original proposition, and showed the impolicy of the principle contended for by his opponents.

Public expectation was now at its height, when successive attempts were made, on the nineteenth of August, by lords King and Grey, to stop all farther proceedings ; but their motions were negatived by immense majorities, and the attorney-general was ordered by the lord chancellor to state his case. This statement, which was very able, and detailed the most disgraceful scenes, occupied two days ; making an impression, not only on the house, but also on the public, which required all the efforts

of the demagogues to counteract : ¹⁹ the close of it was drowned in the noise of drums, trumpets, and tumultuous acclamations from the immense multitudes that accompanied the queen to the house. Soon after her entrance, the examination of witnesses commenced, which gave rise to an extraordinary incident ; for her majesty, hearing the clerk of the commons call the name of Theodore Majocchi, the third witness, started from her seat with a loud but indistinct cry ; rushed out of the house ; and returned with great speed to her own residence. This man had been one of her domestic servants ; and it must ever remain matter of conjecture, whether the exclamation was a consequence of conscious guilt taken by surprise, or of indignation at his treacherous ingratitude. The examination of witnesses occupied the uninterrupted attention of the peers to the sixth of September ; and on the seventh, the solicitor-general, in a masterly manner, summed up the evidence in support of the bill : on the ninth, in consequence of an application from her majesty's counsel, an adjournment took place to the third of October, when Mr. Brougham entered on the queen's defence in a speech of surpassing power ; being followed by Mr. Williams, in a strain also of impressive eloquence ; who adverted to many prominent points, sworn to in the prosecution, which he declared he should be able to rebut by the clearest testimony. The examination of witnesses on behalf of the queen lasted from the fifth of October to the twenty-fourth ; when Mr. Denman proceeded to sum up the evidence for the defence in a speech which lasted two successive days, in which he took a retrospective view of the whole proceedings, as contrasted in prosecution and defence, interspersed with numerous illustrative remarks ; but with a freedom and fearlessness, which reached the utmost license that could be claimed by an advocate. Toward the conclusion, he paid the following fine and classic compliment to his great leader in the cause :—‘ We have fought,’ he said, ‘ the battles of morality, christianity, and civilised

¹⁹ ‘ I was in Hertfordshire,’ says Cobbett, ‘ when this speech was made : coming home, and finding what the impression had been, I wrote and published an answer to it on the twenty-third of August : of this answer, more than 100,000 copies were sold : it was printed and reprinted all over the kingdom, and it stayed the plague : it gave a proper turn to the public mind, and even rendered harmless all that could be said afterwards against the queen, even by the solicitor-general, who was the most able lawyer in the kingdom.’

society throughout the world; and, in the language of the dying warrior, I may say;—

In this glorious and well-foughten field
We kept together in our chivalry :

while he was achieving the immortal victory, and the illustrious triumph, protecting innocence and truth by the adamantine shield of his prodigious eloquence; it has been my lot to discharge only a few random arrows at the defeated champions of this disgraceful cause. The house will believe me, when I say, that I witnessed the display of his surprising faculties with no other feelings than of sincere gratification that the triumph was complete, and of admiration and delight that the queen's victory was accomplished.' Dr. Lushington followed, on the twenty-sixth of October, with a luminous view of the case, aided by those high attainments in the civil law for which he is so distinguished. The king's attorney and solicitor-general occupied four days in their ingenious replies to the arguments of the queen's counsel.

On the sixth of November, the peers closed a long and earnest debate of five nights on the second reading of the bill; a measure equivalent to the question of guilty or not guilty in other courts; when the motion was carried by 123 voices against 95, or by a majority of only 28; with protests from many peers on various grounds, the principle of which was the unsatisfactory proof of the alleged adultery: a protest also from the queen was read by lord Dacre, in which she not only made the most solemn assertions of innocence, but observed, that 'unless these unexampled proceedings should bring the bill before the other house, she would make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years;' an *innuendo*, which could not fail to produce effect.

As soon as the bill was committed, the small preponderance in its favor was diminished; for when the divorce clause came under discussion, several peers, who considered the queen's guilt established by the evidence, and were willing to pass the bill in all its other parts, declared their aversion, on religious scruples, to vote for the divorce: the archbishop of York, in particular, explained this as his ground for having voted against the second reading; while the bishop of Chester, and lord Lauderdale, who had been in the majority on that occasion, from an understanding that the divorce clause would be abandoned, now held the same objection; and the earl of Harrowby,

though a cabinet minister, honorably pursued a similar course. The archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand, and the bishop of London, defended divorce on scriptural authority; and the latter is represented to have maintained, that, as the king, by the constitution, could politically do no wrong, he could not commit folly, much less crime; and therefore could afford no opening for recrimination: it was, however, very generally felt, that his majesty, as a husband, had no claim to that relief, which the ecclesiastical courts deny to any other individual, who does not come before them 'with clean hands.'

The partisans of the queen, headed by earl Grey, were not slow in seizing the advantage afforded by this difference of opinion among her opponents: they now gave their strong support to the obnoxious clause, and the manœuvre was successful; for it was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine to sixty-two, nine cabinet ministers being left in the minority. Encumbered with this clause, the fate of the bill itself became evident; for on the tenth of November, it was read a third time by the disheartening majority of one hundred and eight to ninety-nine. There was yet one question to be put—'that this bill do now pass:' and here the ministers shrunk back. The queen petitioned to be heard by counsel against this final measure; and lord Liverpool, in reply, declared, that with so small a majority, in the actual state of public feeling, he and his colleagues abandoned the bill; and a motion was made that the question should be put off to that day six months: this proposal, though not without some strong protests, was carried; and the commons, who had been held in readiness for the reception of the bill by repeated adjournments, were now, as well as the peers, released by a prorogation of parliament to the twenty-third of January. Thus ended in defeat and disgrace, the domestic war, which George IV. had for twenty-five years carried on against his consort.

On the necessity of these legal proceedings, under all the features which the case latterly assumed, there can be little doubt; but the policy of that conduct which produced them, and occasioned a question of individual vice to be mingled with one of public principle, will always be severely discussed, as well as the truth or falsehood of the allegations against the queen herself. Whatever may be the verdict of posterity concerning her actual guilt, it must be acknowledged that she was a person of coarse mind and indelicate conduct; though, in justice to her memory, it must be remarked, that much of the evidence against

her was tainted with corrupt practice and downright perjury. Whether she was guilty or innocent, the generous feelings of Englishmen, ever ready to espouse the weaker side, were enlisted to a vast extent in the cause of one whom they regarded as an unprotected woman, oppressed by the hatred of her husband, and exposed to the arts of those, whom they considered rather as the slaves of his tyrannical will than as the constitutional advisers of a limited monarch.

On the twenty-ninth of November, her majesty, preceded by a numerous cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback, led by Sir Robert Wilson, went in state to St. Pauls to return public thanks; on which occasion, the multitude which rallied round the decorated banners borne in procession was so great, as to render it a matter of extreme difficulty for her carriage to approach the cathedral: the day however closed, contrary to general expectation, without accident or riot. To the general illuminations, ringing of bells, and firing of cannon, with which the queen's victory had been celebrated at its announcement, succeeded addresses of the lower orders, stimulated by the democratical party, which still wished to retain her as the instrument of their designs: these, however, became too irksome to be long borne by the veriest slave to popularity; and a sort of order was issued in her name, that addresses should be presented to her only on one fixed day of the week: meanwhile, a few of the aristocratical families in opposition showed her certain marks of attention; and as she no longer required the assistance of a mob, she gradually withdrew herself from the contaminating influence of its leaders. This was the signal for their desertion of her cause; and the account of it is thus described by a democrat of the first order:—'The whig faction flocked about her directly after the abandonment of the bill; and her lawyers, who now called themselves her constitutional advisers, belonged to that faction, who thought to get possession of power by her instrumentality; she having the people at her back: but the people, who hated this faction more than the other, the moment they saw it about her, troubled her with no more addresses; they suffered her to remain very tranquil at Brandenburg-house; the faction agitated questions about her in parliament, concerning which the people cared not a straw: what she was doing soon became as indifferent to them as what any other person of the royal family was doing; the people began again to occupy themselves with the business of obtaining a parliamentary reform; and her way of life, and her final fate, soon became objects of curiosity much

more than of interest, with the people.'²⁰ During the excitement occasioned by the above-mentioned transactions, the duchess of York expired, on the sixth of August, in the fifty-fourth year of her age; herself also a forsaken wife, but one who exhibited a remarkable contrast to the unhappy queen, by a steady cultivation of the milder and retiring virtues, and a devotion of her time to exercises of charity and extensive benevolence: she was, at her own express desire, privately interred in the village church of Weybridge, near to Oatlands, where she died. On the sixteenth of June, the public funeral of that eminent patriot, Mr. Henry Grattan, took place at Westminster Abbey; and on the sixth of November, captain Parry returned from his unsuccessful, but interesting voyage; having reached the 113th degree of west longitude, where he passed one winter, in latitude 74: yet, though he was at this time obliged to give up the object of his expedition, his opinion remained favorable to the theory of a north-west passage into the Pacific; and he very soon prepared to renew his attempt to discover it. The Astronomical Society was founded this year, and the colossal head of Memnon, from Thebes, deposited in the British Museum.

Though the period which we have just been describing was one of agitation and disturbance in Great Britain, it was tranquillity itself when compared with the state of affairs in many other nations: the two great antagonist principles, in the south of Europe, at this time commenced a struggle, the violence of which was proportionate to the difficulty with which they had been previously coerced. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy the democratic spirit first broke out into open action: the tyranny and misgovernment of Ferdinand VII. had long excited and justified the indignation of all among his subjects who were attached to the principles of freedom, or sensible of shame on account of national disgrace: but the bigoted mass of the people continued to be led by the priesthood, whose interest it was to support the existing system of despotism: hence every attempt to restore the constitution of 1812 proved abortive, until a total ruin of the finances, added to the disasters of the colonial war, infused a spirit of discontent into the army assembled at Cadiz, which the court of Madrid could neither pay nor embark. These circumstances enabled Riego and Quiroga to effect that in which Porlier and Lacy had failed; so that the terrified and perfidious monarch was com-

²⁰ Cobbett's History of George IV. § 454.

pelled to re-establish the constitution which he had abrogated, and to recall the Cortes, whose prominent members had been for years immured within his dungeons. Alas ! how great is the sum of human misery, for which despots and continuators of old abuses have to answer ! not only are they chargeable with those evils under which the miserable people groan, who are subject to their tyrannical sway ; but with the disorders and desolating fury which generally arise from reaction to that tyranny, when the popular party gains the ascendancy ! A delusive plan of universal suffrage having thrown too much power into the hands of the populace, the deputies sent to the Spanish Cortes were chiefly men of strong democratic principles ; and there soon appeared proofs, not only of the unsuitable nature of the constitution itself to the spirit and wants of the nation, but of a lamentable deficiency of political wisdom and justice in the majority of the assembly. The nobles, and especially the priests, were hostile to the revolution ; yet, instead of conciliating these powerful classes by admitting them to a fair share of legislative power, the constitutionalists would suffer no change in the democratic features of the government ; and their first acts were those of outrage toward their political opponents. As the most important rights of the sovereign were by the new constitution transferred to the Cortes, these latter proceeded to disgust the nobility by a law abrogating the old system of entails, and still more deeply to incense the clergy by decrees for the immediate suppression of religious orders and houses, and for the sale of their property. The ill effect of these proceedings was soon manifested in various anti-constitutional insurrections headed by the ejected monks, to whom the peasantry were blindly attached ; while the constitutionalists, hated both by the king and nobles, were themselves split into parties, and the whole country became a prey to distraction and misery.

Portugal had suffered under a despotism more odious in its form even than that of Spain ; for the continued preference shown by the king for his colonial residence had occasioned the affairs of government to be committed to a vile and obnoxious regency, which was chiefly supported in authority by British officers of despotic principles, maintained in the highest military commands. As this misruled country contained a small but active party, zealous for constitutional liberty, they were not slow in availing themselves of the example of Spain, and the discontent reigning among all classes of people, to effect a revolution. The flame of insurrection, beginning at

Oporto, was quickly communicated to the capital; the regency submitted; the British officers were dismissed; and the constitution of their neighbors was taken as a model for that of Portugal. During the discussions on this subject, field-marshal lord Beresford, the most determined enemy of Portuguese liberty, arrived in the Tagus from Rio Janeiro, and expressed an extreme desire to land: but the public alarm excited by this visit was so great, that it was deemed right, for the purpose of ensuring his personal safety, as well as the tranquillity of the capital, to refuse the request, and to hasten his lordship's departure.

But what, it may here be asked, was the conduct of our government toward these interesting countries, in which British warriors had gained their brightest wreaths of glory, and whose inhabitants had contributed so largely to the successful termination of the late war? Unfortunately, the constituent members of our administration, as well as those by whom it was supported, had been brought up in high aristocratic and tory principles: the most influential among them had imbibed a large portion of the spirit of despotism by long and intimate association with continental despots; others were so infected by a fear of innovation in our own constitution, that any movement towards it in other states, especially those of our allies, was regarded with absolute horror: some had been so hacknied in the common routine of a political career, that they were rendered callous to the touch of human sympathy; but, more lamentable than all, the great captain of the peninsular war showed little interest in the regeneration of a people who had fought under his victorious banner! No effort, therefore, had been made by that government, which possessed the greatest right of interference, to induce the 'absolute king' to modify his tyrannical acts, and to introduce a system of reform into his administration: no assistance or advice was given to the constitutionalists, to preserve them from rash innovations; no attempt made to direct them in a path surrounded by perils: but, when they had involved themselves in difficulties, and drawn down on their cause the indignation of despotic power, the British government not only received the denunciations of other courts without regret, but subsequently saw without opposition the old system of absolute sway introduced into the peninsula, and put into execution with the most rigorous severity: yet how many streams of blood might have been stopped, how much human anguish been prevented, how great a cost of treasure and life, since lavished by the natives of this isle

itself, been saved, had the spirit of humanity prevailed in our tory cabinet!

Revolutionary doctrines, however, were not confined to the peninsula beyond the Pyrenees; the contagion quickly spread to that beyond the Alps also. In Naples, the establishment of a constitutional government, eagerly desired by a large proportion of the people, had been promised by the king at his restoration, but afterwards prohibited through the interposition of Austria; and the feelings of indignation thence excited were cherished by the Carbonari, a species of freemasons, whose ancient fraternity was converted into a political association, for the restoration of Italian freedom. The example of the Spanish people, between whom and the Italians a political union of ages had produced much corresponding sentiment, gave a sudden impulse to the exertions of the confederacy, by whose influence the Neapolitan army was gained to the cause; and the alarming spectacle was soon exhibited, of a military power prescribing to the monarch a constitution formed after a foreign model. The ramifications of the Carbonari, in a country so central, as well as so politically situated, as Italy, rendered it necessary for the holy allies, either to remain quiet spectators of a general insurrection, and a probable extension of institutions adverse to the purposes of their confederacy, or to anticipate these movements by force of arms: accordingly, the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia met personally in congress at Troppau, where they formally announced their resolution to crush the Neapolitan revolution, and overthrow a constitution, which it was declared had been forced on the sovereign by violence: their next step was to send a joint letter, inviting the king of Naples to meet them in a new congress at Laybach, on the frontiers of Italy; with an assurance, that his presence would best assist their anxious views for the welfare of himself as well as of his subjects, and promote a conciliatory adjustment between them: to this insidious proposal, although Austria was already pouring her troops into Lombardy, the Neapolitan parliament had the folly to consent; and Ferdinand embarked on board a British man-of-war for Leghorn, leaving a solemn declaration of his determination to adhere to the fundamental principles of the constitution, which he had sworn to maintain. The presence of a British fleet, for some time past, in the bay of Naples, tended to corroborate what was formerly acknowledged; that, although by the constitution of this country, the sovereign could not openly profess himself a member of the holy alliance, he fully approved of its principles and purposes: the great

mass, however, of the British nation, though they could not fail observing much to lament and condemn in many rash proceedings of the constitutionalists, yet sympathised strongly in the general justice of their cause, and reprobated the declared resolutions of the holy confederates.

The Neapolitan revolution was followed by sanguinary commotions among the Sicilians, who naturally wished to detach their country from its degrading dependence on Naples. The Ottoman Porte also attacked its rebellious pasha of Joannina this year; at the close of which, that atrocious tyrant was closely blockaded in his fortress of Litaritza. France, though not subject to political convulsions, was strongly agitated by the deplorable assassination of the duc de Berri, youngest nephew of Louis XVIII., and the sole member of his family who promised to continue his line of heirs to the throne. An important alteration was made in the law of elections, by which it was intended to give greater stability to the constitution, by neutralising a portion of the democratic principle: while 258 members of the chamber, as originally constituted, were returned by the electoral colleges, 172 additional deputies were to be chosen by departmental colleges, composed of one fourth part of the electors, being such as paid the largest contributions to the public service.

CHAP. LXI.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1821.

Meeting of parliament—Contest between the queen's friends and ministers—Queen's annuity bill—End of the contest—Extinction of the queen's popularity—Feeling in England against the principles of the holy alliance—Committee voted on the catholic claims, &c.—Motions for parliamentary reform—Disfranchisement of Grampound—Report of the agricultural committee, &c.—Measures to alter the navigation laws, and in favor of free trade—Mr. Hume—Supplies, &c.—Prorogation of parliament—Death of Napoleon—Preparations for the coronation, &c.—Claim preferred by the queen, and rejected—Her attempts to be present at the coronation repulsed—Ceremony of the coronation, &c.—Death of the queen—King's visit to Ireland—Queen's funeral—King's return—State of Irish government and of the country—Recall of the lord lieutenant—King's visit to Hanover—Foundation of the Royal Society of Literature—State of Europe, particularly of Greece—Opening of parliament in 1822—Lord Wellesley governor of Ireland; state of the country, enactments of the legislature, &c.—Ravages of famine and disease in Ireland, &c.—Conduct of various classes—Agricultural distress in England—Admission of the Grenville party into the cabinet—Mr. Peel made secretary of state—Mr. Canning designated as governor-general of India—His motion to restore Roman catholic peers to their seats in parliament—Agricultural distress, and appointment of a committee—Bills founded on its report—Financial bills—State of parties—Acts for the reduction of expenditure forced on ministers, &c.—Mr. Western's motion on the currency—Relaxation of Peel's bill—Statistical affairs—Reduction in the salt tax and in that on malt, &c.—Relaxation in the navigation and trade laws—Lord J. Russell's plan for parliamentary reform—Greek cause introduced into the house of commons—Favored by the people—Prorogation of parliament—The king's visit to Scotland—Death of lord Londonderry, &c.—Prevalence of bad principles—Trials of Carlisle, &c. for blasphemous publications—Appointment of Mr. Canning as secretary of state—Congress of Verona, &c.—Greek cause—Affairs of Spain—Liberal views of Mr. Canning—Changes in the cabinet—Caledonian canal—Grant to publish the early histories of Britain.

PARLIAMENT, having assembled on the twenty-third of January, was opened by his majesty in person, with a speech

characterised by a crest-fallen moderation: his references to domestic concerns expressed satisfaction at decreasing evils; and, in noticing foreign commotions, he stated, that his great object would be to preserve the blessings of peace to his people: he mentioned the queen, merely to suggest the settlement of a provision for her, in lieu of that, which, as princess of Wales, she lost at the demise of George III.

Notwithstanding these pacific demonstrations, the opposition in both houses prepared all their strength for a vigorous attempt to eject the ministers; who, it was imagined, had declined greatly in public favor by the line of conduct which they had adopted toward the queen: in pursuance of this scheme, the whigs did not disdain to co-operate with the radical party, her majesty's avowed adherents; and one of the results of their alliance was the presentation of numerous petitions, reprobating the late bill of pains and penalties, praying for the restoration of the queen's name to the liturgy, and requesting the house to exert its utmost influence with the king to dismiss from his service those, whose pernicious advice had endangered the dignity of the crown, and disturbed the tranquillity of the nation: the opposition leaders, however, had not taken into consideration that alarm which had been produced among the supporters of established order in the upper and middle classes, as soon as it was seen that the queen had suffered her cause to be identified with that of revolutionists; nor had they sufficiently estimated the sensible diminution of popular enthusiasm in her favor: when therefore they commenced offensive operations, they found themselves encountered and defeated by large majorities. The experiment was made in the lower house, on the twenty-sixth of January, by lord Archibald Hamilton, in a motion of censure on ministers for the omission of her majesty's name in the liturgy, being seconded by Mr. Hobhouse, one of the members for Westminster; while the legality, no less than the justice of the omission, was disputed by those eminent lawyers, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Scarlett, and Mr. Wetherell, who fortified their arguments with much historical and antiquarian research. In reply, the attorney and solicitor-general contended for the point of necessity, and also declared that it was not illegal; the former observing, that the act of uniformity gave a power to omit as well as to alter or change; as was evident from the fact, that the liturgy annexed to that act contains a blank in the place of the name of queen; and which, without such vested power of addition or omission, could never have been supplied. The conduct of

administration was strenuously defended by lord Castlereagh, as an act of imperative duty : he regretted that the law on this point was not more clear ; but as the case stood, if they had at first inserted her majesty's name in the liturgy, while such heavy charges lay against her, and had been afterwards compelled to erase it on account of the confirmation of those charges, they would have been overwhelmed by the moral indignation of the country. ' But it was said,' continued his lordship, ' that the queen was proved innocent, and that her name should now be inserted as a matter of course : the opinion of gentlemen opposite on that point has not much weight with me, and I will tell them why ; because their conviction was as strong before the evidence was given, as after. I will grant she was technically acquitted, and may claim the possession of those privileges to which she has strictly a legal right : but the insertion of her name in the liturgy is not a matter of right ; and when her character has been so far affected by the evidence produced against her, that 123 peers pronounced her guilty, the crown cannot be advised to grant this or any other favor which depends on its pleasure to grant or to withhold : toward the queen personally, I feel compassion ; but since they who affect to be her friends have renewed the discussion, be theirs the odium and the mischief which must ensue : I cannot however be silent on her conduct ; since she has been so infatuated as to deliver herself into the hands of a party, who, I believe, entertain designs dangerous to public tranquillity and to the constitution, nor can I honor her more in a political than in a moral point of view ; for has she not, in her answers to addresses, reviled the king, degraded the crown, and vilified both houses of parliament ? But, thank God ! the country is coming to its senses ; and if parliament persists in its tone of dignified resolution, the efforts of that party will end in despair. Your path of duty is plain : either sustain the actual government in unimpaired honor and character, or by a manly and tangible proceeding put an end to the present cabinet.'

Mr. Brougham, in reply to this speech, contended, that as the queen had been acquitted, she must be treated as if she had never been tried, or there was no justice left in England : he wished that gentlemen who thought variously on one point, but agreed on others, would choose that on which they could unite, not that on which they differed : most of them thought the omission of the queen's name illegal ; some doubted its illegality : all however were clear as to its being inexpedient

and ill-advised. Lord A. Hamilton's motion was met by the question of adjournment, which was carried by a majority of 101 votes in favor of ministers. A few days afterwards, on a proposition by lord Castlereagh, for a committee to take into consideration a provision for the queen, Mr. Brougham brought down a message from her majesty, declaring in respectful but positive terms, her unaltered determination to accept of no settlement while her name was excluded from the liturgy: not deterred however by this announcement, his lordship proposed to the house a provision of £50,000 per annum, as originally settled on her by the marriage treaty, and offered to her at St. Omers: after some vehement debates, the vote passed without a division, and a bill for the annuity was forwarded through the usual stages.

Lord Tavistock, on the fifth of February, renewed the attack, by a motion of direct censure on the whole proceedings against her majesty, with the expressed intention of driving ministers from power: he was seconded by Mr. Lambton, who charged them with gross inconsistency and mismanagement; but, after two nights spent in violent debate, the majority in favor of government, was, on a division, increased to 146. The third and last effort made in the queen's cause was a motion from Mr. W. Smith, on the thirteenth, for the restoration of her name to the liturgy: Mr. Wilberforce, and some of his friends, who had previously voted with ministers, were disposed to concede this point, for the sake of allaying popular irritation: on a division, therefore, the majority was not so large; but it was decisively negatived; and the question was not resumed during the session, except as it offered means of some desultory hostilities to the opponents of government. In the mean time, the queen was soon reduced to the embarrassing alternative which her ill-judging counsellors had prepared for her; either to be left destitute of any provision, or to accept the proposed settlement, after having aggravated her humiliating situation by the affectation of a refusal: her acceptance of the grant was necessary for her very existence; but the inconsistency of this determination with her imprudent declaration extinguished all her influence over the public mind.

The excitement occasioned by these proceedings relating to the queen, gave way to a more legitimate source of interest, arising from those of the holy alliance; whose manifesto, published at Troppau, had excited feelings of indignation among all the friends of constitutional liberty throughout Europe. The intimate connexion which had long subsisted between our

government and the courts of this despotic association, as well as the zeal with which ministers were accustomed to defend the arbitrary government of continental sovereigns, and the contempt which they too often displayed in debate for popular rights, created a suspicion in the country, that they had some secret connivance, if not participation, in the projects of the great northern confederacy : nor was this impression removed by a qualified protest against its principles of interference, addressed by lord Castlereagh to our ministers at foreign courts ; since it was thought, that the British government, although not called on to engage in a Quixotic defence of revolutions, ought to have exhibited a hearty reprobation of the tyrannical principles of the holy allies, as well as a positive expression of dissent from the measures by which those principles were carried into effect.

The consideration of foreign affairs was brought directly before parliament by motions from lord Grey in the upper, and Sir James Mackintosh in the lower house ; the ostensible object of which, was the production of all communications between his majesty's government and foreign states, on the concerns of Naples ; but the real purpose was to elicit their sentiments from ministers, by an expression of vehement indignation against the confederates, and an exposition of the unjust partiality shown toward them by our cabinet ; which, while it affected to condemn, had, in fact, justified their principles, by refusing to acknowledge the constitutional government of Naples. In his speech on this occasion, lord Grey adverted strongly to a document which had appeared in a Hamburg paper in December last, purporting to be a circular of the allied powers : in this, no less a claim was set up than that of general superintendence over European states, and the suppression of all changes in their internal administration, if such should seem hostile to what the holy alliance deemed legitimate principles of government. Those monarchs had, as it appeared to him, assumed the censorship of Europe ; sitting in judgment on the internal transactions of other states, and even taking on themselves to summon before them an independent sovereign, in order to pronounce sentence on a constitution which he had given to his country ; and threatening to enforce their judgment by arms. This, he asserted, was to declare plainly, that all changes of government, which did not square with their ideas of propriety, were to be put down ;—a principle, unknown before in the history of the world ; than which nothing could be more unjust, nothing more atrocious. Ministers, in their defence, re-

peated the assurance, that our government was in no respect a party to the league; but the papers were refused, and the motions negatived: still the debates were productive of some good, since they conveyed to the world an expression of British feeling against the union of continental despots; and obliged a cabinet, which was too much disposed to support its policy, to loosen the bonds of their connexion.

When the declaration against Naples arrived, lord Lansdowne brought the subject again before the peers, by moving an address to his majesty for a remonstrance with the allied powers; but he was met by the pretext of a strict neutrality adopted by Great Britain. In the mean time, the Austrian army advanced: no measures, or at least only the most inefficient, had been taken by the constitutional government of Naples for the national defence: the troops left their ranks and fled, before they came into contact with the invaders; the old king was re-established in all the privileges of despotism; and an Austrian army of occupation remained in the country, to rivet those fetters which its pusillanimous defenders richly merited. At this crisis, the flame of insurrection had burst out in Piedmont; Milan and Venice were full of inflammable materials; and if the dastardly Neapolitans had done their duty, the glorious peninsula might have been delivered from foreign and domestic tyrants: but the speedy and lamentable catastrophe at Naples paralysed the efforts of braver men; and the ancient mistress of the world was still doomed to remain a mournful subject of lamentation to the Italian Muses.

From the discussion of foreign oppression, parliament proceeded to a consideration of domestic grievances. The great advocate of catholic emancipation, Henry Grattan, had departed this life; but his mantle had descended on Mr. Plunkett, who brought forward this question on the twenty-eighth of February, prefacing it by an able and lucid speech, which elicited acclamations from all parties in the house: Mr. Peel appeared, on this occasion, as the chief opponent of the measure; but the motion for a committee was carried by a majority of six votes. In pursuance of this resolution, the house resolved itself into a committee on the second of March; when six resolutions, proposed by Mr. Plunkett, were acceded to; and on these he framed two bills, one repealing disabilities, and the other enacting securities for the safety of the protestant succession to the crown, and of the protestant church. Mr. Canning supported the measure with great eloquence and

fervor, declaring, that 'we were in the enjoyment of a peace, achieved in a great degree by catholic arms, and cemented by catholic blood.' 'For three centuries,' he observed, 'we had been erecting mounds, not to assist or improve, but to thwart nature: we had raised them high above the waters, where they have stood for many a year, frowning proud defiance on all who attempted to cross them: but in the course of ages, even they have been nearly broken down; and the narrow isthmus, now formed by them, stands between two seas: the fountains see each other, and would fain meet. Shall we then fortify the mounds, which are now almost in ruins? or shall we leave them to moulder away by time or accident? an event, which, though distant, must happen, and which, when it does, will only confer a thankless favor; or shall we cut away at once the isthmus that remains, and float on the mingling waves the ark of our common constitution?'

The two bills, when sent up to the house of lords, found its atmosphere not quite so congenial to their existence: the conduct of the first was undertaken by lord Donoughmore, who was strenuously opposed by the earl of Liverpool and the chancellor; but the fate of the measure was completely decided on the second day's debate, by the memorable speech, or protest, which the duke of York, presumptive heir to the throne, then delivered. 'Educated,' said his royal highness, 'in the principles of the established church, the more I inquire, and the more I think, the more I am persuaded that her interests are inseparable from those of the constitution: I consider her as an integral part of that constitution; and I pray that she may long remain so: at the same time, there is no man less an enemy to toleration than myself; but I distinguish between the allowance of the free exercise of religion, and the granting of political power.' This speech, embodying the sentiments of his late father, George III., carried the duke of York's popularity with the partisans of the high church to an extraordinary height: it became, as it were, engraven on their hearts, and was made the watchword of that party. The bill was thrown out, after a long discussion, in which many of the peers took a part, by 159 votes against 120: twenty-seven bishops voted on the occasion, either personally or by proxy; but only two of the number, Dr. Bathurst of Norwich, and Dr. King of Rochester, were among the contents. The diminution of the usual majority in the lords on this question was attributed to the character of neutrality assumed by the cabinet, several leading members of which in both houses were found among

the strenuous advocates of emancipation ; though their colleagues as zealously resisted the abolition of existing restrictions.

While the peers were thus engaged, the commons were occupied in a sweeping motion for parliamentary reform, introduced by Mr. Lambton, who proposed to divide the kingdom into elective districts, extend the franchise to all householders, and limit the duration of parliaments to three years. The result of the debate, which was adjourned to a second evening, was a source of much merriment to the opposers of the measure ; for, taking advantage of a thin house, and the absence of its supporters, they pressed a division at an early stage in the discussion ; and when the mover entered to hear the debate, he was not a little surprised to find the question already disposed of. Another plan, characterised by an admirable spirit of moderation and prudence, was proposed by lord John Russell : this would have extended the right of electing members to populous towns, then unrepresented in parliament, and disfranchised every borough convicted hereafter of corruption : though supported by 124 voices, it was thrown out by a majority of 155 ; many of whom have probably lived to regret the vote they gave that day. But though the rejection of every direct proposal for reform, might, at first sight, appear to indicate no advance in favor of this important question ; yet the increased strength of the minorities by which some of its modifications were supported, marked a growing conviction among men of moderate principles, of the necessity of some concession to public opinion.

One decided measure of practical reform effected this session, was the disfranchisement of the corrupt borough of Grampound, and the transfer of its privileges to the large and populous county of York. The original purpose of lord John Russell, the mover of this question, was to confer its elective rights on the town of Leeds, and to invest the franchise in householders paying a rent of ten pounds : but this qualification savored too much of the democratic principle to satisfy the majority of the commons ; and the bill passed their house, with the right of voting limited to renters of houses at twenty pounds per annum. Even this modification did not content the aristocratical jealousy of the peers ; and every effort was made by lord Eldon and his party, unable as they were to glance into futurity, to defeat the measure altogether : lord Liverpool, however, effected a compromise, by proposing, as an amendment, to substitute the county of York for one of its towns ; and the bill, so altered, was returned to the commons, and passed.

A continuation of low prices produced general distress, which was felt by no classes of the community so severely as those engaged in agricultural pursuits: numerous petitions on the subject having been presented at the beginning of the session, a committee was granted on the motion of Mr. Gooch; and its report was presented to the house on the eighteenth of June: this stated, 'that the complaints of the petitioners were founded in fact, in so far as they represented, that at the present price of corn, the returns to occupiers of arable land, after allowing for the interest of investments, were by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings: it also acknowledged, that the committee, after a long and anxious inquiry, had not been able to discover any means calculated immediately to relieve the present pressure.'

'So far,' the report stated, 'as the pressure arises from superabundant harvests, it is beyond the application of any legislative provision; so far as it is the result of the increased value of money, it is not one peculiar to the farmer, but extends to many other classes of society. That result, however, is the more severely felt by the tenant, in consequence of its coincidence with an overstocked market; especially, if he be farming with a borrowed capital, and under the engagements of a lease; and it has hitherto been farther aggravated by the comparative slowness, with which prices generally, and particularly the price of labor, accommodate themselves to a change in the value of money. From this last circumstance, the departure from our ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money, and persons dependent on fixed incomes, was a benefit to the active capital of the country; and the same classes have been oppositely affected by a return to that standard: the restoration of it has also embarrassed the landowner, in proportion as his estate has been encumbered with mortgages, and other fixed payments, assigned on it, during the depreciation of money. The only alleviation for this evil is to be looked for in such a gradual reduction of the rate of interest below the legal maximum, as may make those encumbrances a lighter burden on the landed interests; and this reduction, if peace continues, there is every reason to hope for: the difficulties, in which the alterations of our currency have involved the farming, the manufacturing, and the trading interests of the country, must diminish, in proportion as contracts, prices, and labor adjust themselves to the present value of money.'

This report, when made public, extinguished all the hopes

which had been entertained from the labors of the committee. The effects resulting from a suspension of cash payments, and an inundation of paper currency, in too many instances nominal, and easily attained by speculators, were now becoming more and more evident; but no immediate remedy could be applied, no relief contemplated, except from the gradual progression of time, with economy and remission of taxation: ministers, however, notwithstanding the opposition of those who attributed the existing low prices to the influence of threatened changes in the currency, were firm in their purpose of effecting the resumption of cash-payments; and the Bank directors, renouncing all ideas of self-interest, anticipated the period prescribed by law: they not only voluntarily opened their golden stores to the holders of their notes, but procured an act which hastened the removal of the restriction by one year, making it imperative on the Bank to pay all demands on it in cash, after the first of May, 1822.

The views of government on the question of free trade, proclaimed during last session, were now more formally developed in a series of resolutions, proposed by Mr. Wallace, vice-president of the board of trade: his object was to pave the way for a complete revisal of the navigation laws, and the removal of those restrictions which forbade the free interchange of commodities in foreign shipping; and the general sentiment of the house being favorable to the measures contemplated, leave was given, notwithstanding the opposition of particular interests, to introduce bills for their enactment in the ensuing session.

In the debates on the estimates of expenditure, Mr. Hume pursued a plan of sifting and disputing the required amount of almost every item of supply; and though he failed in all direct efforts to effect any reduction of expense; yet his system of perpetually harassing government, forced ministers themselves into the necessity of originating measures of retrenchment: sometimes he was even gladly appealed to by them when unable or unwilling to satisfy the cormorants that are constantly hovering round the treasury benches; creatures, whose lust of place and profit extinguishes the love of country and the principles of liberty. The total amount of supplies for the year was £20,018,200, being less by above £1,000,000 than that for 1820: in aid of the ways and means, there were taken from the sinking fund £13,000,000; and the sum of £500,000 arose from the pecuniary indemnity paid by France. A proposition to repeal the malt tax was successfully resisted; but govern-

ment, to prove its wish of relieving the agriculturists in some degree, removed the duty from horses employed in husbandry. The labors of the session being finished, parliament was prorogued by commission on the eleventh of July.

This year the common lot of mortality overtook Napoleon Buonaparte, who died in the lonely isle of St. Helena on the fifth of May: his spirit departed from the corporeal frame in the midst of a terrific storm of thunder and lightning; and it seemed as if the awful sounds brought up the confused image of a battle to the mind of the dying warrior; for his last broken words were '*tête d'armée,*' '*fils,*' '*France!*' He was buried with the military honors due to a general of the first rank, in a grave fourteen feet deep; the lower part being chambered to receive the coffin: over this a large stone was placed, and the rest of the space was filled up with solid masonry fastened by iron clamps. Very soon after his funeral ceremonies, the establishment, which had cost this country nearly half a million per annum, was broken up; and counts Bertrand and Montholon, with the rest of the late emperor's faithful adherents, returned to Europe. Napoleon's will, bearing date April 14, 1821, was brought over to England by Bertrand, and registered in the prerogative court of Canterbury. Thus terminated, in exile and in prison, the most extraordinary life yet known to political history: the intelligence created very little sensation throughout Europe; and this was one of the remarkable contrasts in the chequered destiny of a man, who once filled the world with his fame.

The king's coronation had been originally fixed for the first of August, in the year now past; but the queen's appearance put an end to that arrangement; and it had become a question much debated, whether the ceremony would take place in the present state of public feeling: but the pageantry of a coronation was too agreeable to the taste of George IV. to be declined; and as no people on earth are more easily worked on by the courtesy and condescension of their superiors than the English, the king and his ministers knew that there was no necessity for extraordinary exertions in order to turn the popular stream in his favor: his majesty therefore began to appear more frequently in public than his general custom was at this time; in particular, he visited the principal theatres; where he was received with acclamations so flattering, as almost to realise the assertion made by lord Castlereagh at the close of the late trial;—'that in six months his majesty would be the most popular man within his dominions.' The sentiments of

the people therefore having been ascertained, a proclamation was issued, announcing the king's pleasure that his coronation should take place on the nineteenth of July: this, however, was a signal to bring the queen again into the field: 'war to the knife!' was the watchword of that determined and implacable woman.

In consequence of a memorial which she forwarded on the twenty-fifth of June, preferring her claim to be crowned like her royal predecessors, the case was argued, at the king's command, before the privy council: during two sittings, her majesty's rights were supported, with great ability and research, by Messrs Brougham and Denman, whose chief argument rested on the plea of long and uniform practice. The king's attorney-general admitted that usage would be evidence of a right, unless it could be shown that such usage originated and was continued by the permission of another party. 'There was evident distinction,' he said, 'between the coronation of a king, and that of a queen; the former being accompanied by important political acts, while the latter was a mere ceremony: but even the coronation of the king was not necessary to his possession of the crown: that act emanated from himself, and he had the sole direction of it: the right assumed by the queen consort was not once alluded to by any writer on our law and constitution; and with respect to usage itself, the majority of instances since the reign of Henry VIII. was against the claim; for out of thirteen queens consort from that time, six only had been crowned.' The solicitor-general followed in the same line of argument: Mr. Brougham replied; and the council, at its next sitting, rejected her majesty's claim of right.

When the queen received this decision through her chamberlain, lord Hood, she instantly wrote in her own name to lord Sidmouth, stating her fixed determination to be present at the ceremony, and demanding a suitable place to be provided for her accommodation; and when his lordship returned for answer, that it was not his majesty's pleasure to comply with this request, her application was renewed to the duke of Norfolk, as earl-marshal of England; and subsequently to lord Howard of Effingham, to whom his grace had delegated the duties of his office: as lord Howard was obliged to take the commands of his majesty on this occasion, through the secretary of state, the answer returned was of course unsatisfactory; and the disappointed queen finally addressed a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his services to crown her majesty alone, the following week, while the Abbey

remained in a state of preparation for the august ceremony, without the necessity of any additional expense to the nation. To this preposterous demand, the following reply was instantly returned:—

‘ Lambeth Palace, July 15.

‘ The archbishop of Canterbury has the honor to acknowledge, with all humility, the receipt of her majesty’s communication: her majesty is undoubtedly aware that the archbishop cannot stir a single step in the subject-matter of it without the commands of the king.’

Thus repulsed in her application to different authorities, nothing remained for the queen, but to prepare a protest; which was accordingly drawn up in the most pointed terms, and which she determined to deliver personally into his majesty’s hands on the day of his coronation. The publication of this document, as well as other acts, exhibiting her fixed resolution, under all hazards and circumstances, to be present at the coronation, occasioned expectations that its celebration would be interrupted, if not prevented, by some popular commotion or infraction of the public peace: accordingly, when the day for this superb ceremony, which had not been witnessed for sixty years, arrived, the respectable part of the community mustered in very small numbers; the immense booths, constructed at a vast expense by speculators for the accommodation of the public, were almost deserted; and places, for which, if no apprehensions had existed, ten guineas would have been demanded and cheerfully given, fell to five shillings, and even to half-a-crown: ministers, however, put in practice every possible precaution to preserve tranquillity, and to baffle the designs of their antagonist: they got up shows, balloons, fireworks, and all sorts of entertainments to attract the populace from the vicinity of the Abbey; and in case the people should stir in the queen’s favor, every disposable regiment was brought into or near the metropolis on that day; while the streets were so barricaded, that none but soldiers on duty could move conveniently along them: but there needed none of this warlike preparation; so much was popular enthusiasm in the queen’s cause abated.

On the preceding evening, the king slept at the speaker’s house in Palace-yard; and on the morning of the nineteenth, while arrangements were making in Westminster-hall for the grand procession, her majesty, faithful to her word, came down

to the scene of action in her state carriage, drawn by six bay horses, followed by another carriage with her attendants; and, arriving at the outer gates of the hall, she claimed a right to be present at the ceremony: being, however, very unceremoniously excluded, she attempted to gain admission at several doors of the Abbey, but without better success: some of the people then pointed out to her majesty an opening to the platform, which she ascended; and, walking thence to Old Palace-yard, entered first the passage to Cotton-garden, and subsequently advanced along the covered way to Poets'-corner: at this last door lord Hood desired admission; but the doorkeepers drew across the entrance, and requested to see the tickets: his lordship then said, 'I present to you your queen; surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket:' but one of the attendants replied, that he did not know the queen, and prohibited her majesty from entering. Lord Hood produced his own ticket, but was informed that it would only admit one person: her majesty therefore, finding every effort to obtain admission ineffectual, returned to her carriage, and proceeded through Whitehall, Pall Mall, and St. James's-street, to her own residence, attended by a concourse of rabble, whose cheers and acclamations saluted her ears for the last time: on her arrival at home, she also addressed her last letter to the king, through lord Sidmouth, requesting that he would be pleased to give an early answer to the demand which she had made to the archbishop of Canterbury; and trusting, 'that, after the public insult she had received, he would grant her just right of being crowned on the following Monday.' To this, lord Sidmouth replied, that he was commanded to acquaint her majesty, that, in accordance with the decision of the privy council against the right of queens-consort to be crowned at any time, the king did not think proper to give orders for her majesty's coronation.

During the period in which the above transactions took place without the hall, considerable anxiety was manifested by the illustrious assemblage within, while the mingled uproar of applause and disapprobation reached their ears: happily however this was at an end before the procession was marshalled; and at eleven o'clock, the splendid train set out from Westminster-hall in the usual order; the anthem of, 'O Lord, grant the king a long life,' being sung in parts, in succession with the performance of his majesty's band, the sound of trumpets, and the beat of drums, until it arrived at the Abbey. This display of the most magnificent among the old pomps of Eng-

land, has been commemorated by a celebrated master of description,¹ who has declared, 'that a ceremony more august and imposing in all its parts, or more calculated to make the deepest impression both on the eye and on the feelings, cannot be conceived.' Pitying those, who, 'being unable to detect a peg on which to hang a laugh, sneer coldly at this solemn festival, and are rather disposed to dwell on the expense which attends it, than on the generous feelings which it ought to awaken;' he very justly observes, 'that the expense, so far as it is national or personal, goes directly and instantly to the encouragement of the British manufacturer and mechanic; that it operates as a tax on wealth and consideration, for the benefit of poverty and industry; a tax, willingly paid by the one class; and not less acceptable to the other, because it adds a happy holyday to the monotony of a life of labor.'

Notwithstanding this great authority, however, it may confidently be predicted, that no coronation will again be attempted in this kingdom, on the same scale, and in the same style, as that of George IV. Times change, and we must change with them, spite of the pain which this may cause to the lovers of antiquity: mere gaudy processions have had their day: the seasons for which they were suited, when intellectual and refined amusements were unknown, have passed away, and vain ceremonies must vanish in their train. When Sir Walter Scott, within the sacred walls of the Abbey, witnessed with those heartfelt emotions, which he has so eloquently described, the voluntary and solemn interchange of vows betwixt the king and his assembled people, while *he* called on God to witness his resolution to maintain their laws and privileges, and *they* to bear witness that they accepted him as their liege sovereign, we can readily enter into his feelings, and applaud the scene: also we acknowledge the justness of his description, when he calls lord Londonderry, in the magnificent robes of the garter, with his cap and high plume, his fine face and majestic person, an adequate representative of the order of Edward III.: in a similar spirit, we allow that the duke of Wellington, with all his laurels, moved and looked as one deserving the baton, which was never grasped by a worthier hand: but when majesty itself came tottering along the platform between the Abbey and the hall, scarcely able to support the glittering diadem that formed a melancholy contrast with his faded form; when the high-spirited representative of the grand order of

¹ Sir Walter Scott, in his Letter on the Coronation.

England, and the immortal conqueror of Napoleon, marching amidst a motley crew of antique maskers, paraded their ribbons and their laurels before a gaping crowd, of what has been humorously termed 'the great unwashed;' it was then extensively felt that the fatal step had been taken from the sublime to the ridiculous: and why so? because there was a want of unison between the parties. In ancient times, the decorated figures in the procession would have been regarded with silent awe, or accompanied with the murmurs of respectful and sincere applause: in the present instance, they were received with laughter; and the highest nobles of our land became subjected to the gibes and jeers of apprentice boys, and the lowest of the mob. On a subsequent occasion, better taste was shown: the procession which accompanied William IV. to the Abbey, was a military array: the fine and affecting part of the ceremony was preserved; the trumpery was discarded.

The ill-fated queen, who had placed her last stake on the hazard of a day, and, having totally failed in her object, had incurred derision even from the populace, sank under the deep humiliation: she was soon afterwards attacked with an obstruction of the bowels, which, in her state of mind and body, brought on mortification, and terminated fatally the seventh of August: but even in death, the unconquerable will and ruling passion still remained: she ordered that her remains should not be left in England, but carried to her native land; and that the inscription on her tomb should be,—'Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured queen of England.'

Before the unexpected event of her majesty's decease took place, the king had made arrangements to visit Ireland, and it was not thought proper to interrupt them: on Saturday, the eleventh of August, his majesty embarked on board the *Lightning* steam-packet, and on the following afternoon disembarked at Howth: being quickly recognised, he was welcomed by the warm-hearted inhabitants, who for so many years had never seen a king on their shores in the garb of peace, with a delirium of joy: nor was the homage he received less gratifying to the monarch because it was unthinking and abject: he cordially acknowledged the greeting of the multitude, shaking hands with many, and appearing to enjoy the humor of the moment in the absence of etiquette. The populace escorted him to the steps of the vice-regal lodge, whence he addressed them in very energetic language:—'This,' said his majesty, 'is one of the happiest days of my life: I have long wished to visit you: my heart has always been Irish:

from the day it first beat, I have loved Ireland; and this day has shown me that I am beloved by my Irish subjects: rank, station, honors, are nothing; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects, is to me the most exalted happiness.' The public authorities were presented at a private levee on the fifteenth; and the great seemed to participate in the rapture of the lower orders, on the arrival of a sovereign, whose affability delighted them; while the most extravagant hopes of national and individual benefit from this visit were entertained by all ranks. The king's public entry into Dublin occurred on the seventeenth, when his majesty wore the riband of the order of St. Patrick, and took possession of the castle for the remainder of his stay: on the twenty-third, he dined with the lord mayor; but his chief, if not only private visit, was to Slane-castle, the residence of lord Conyngham: in the course of the evening which he spent there, despatches were received, announcing the riots at the funeral procession of the queen; and he is said to have expressed, in somewhat contemptuous terms, his dissatisfaction at the want of arrangement and energy on the part of ministers. The following are the circumstances which led to this disapprobation: her majesty's body, according to her will, was to be carried to Brunswick for interment; and the first stage, towards Harwich, where it was to cross the sea, was to Romford in Essex: now the road to that place from Brandenburg-house led through the heart of the capital, by her husband's palace and St. Paul's cathedral: ministers, therefore, in their anxiety to prevent the corpse from proceeding in such a direction, endeavored to force it up a narrow street or lane, so that it might reach the northern outskirts of London, and so get into the Romford road, without occasioning any popular commotion; to effect which, a sufficient number of troops was placed at the command of those who had the conduct of the affair: but the people, by tearing up the pavement, making trenches in the road, and blocking up all other avenues, actually obliged the funeral procession to take the forbidden route: a conflict at the upper gate of Hyde-park took place between the military and the people, when two of the latter were shot dead by the soldiers: the procession moved on, and the contest was renewed; but the mob eventually triumphed; and the corpse, after having been driven up and down various streets with the most unseemly velocity, was forced into the city, where the lord mayor and other authorities joined the procession; the shops being closed, and the bells of the different churches

tolling. In the course of the affray, Sir Robert Wilson remonstrated with some soldiers and an officer on duty; and his humane but unmilitary interference deprived him of his commission: the directing civil magistrate also, who consulted humanity in preference to his orders, and for the prevention of bloodshed yielded to the desire of the multitude, was dismissed from his office. Such were the commotions, and such the cause of them, in the British metropolis, while the king was enjoying the pleasures of Irish conviviality, and acquiring an ascendancy over party-spirit in that ill-used and misgoverned country: this, if he had resolved at once to adopt a liberal and decisive policy, would have preserved his image stamped as a benefactor on the very heart of the nation: but contenting himself with a proclamation exhorting the people to concord, and with a reiteration of the plaudits which had greeted his arrival, George IV. departed on the seventh of September, and, disembarking on the thirteenth at Milford Haven, proceeded immediately to London.

At this time, lord Talbot was chief governor of Ireland; a nobleman much esteemed for his private character, but with no other recommendation for so high an office, beyond his known sentiments, favorable to an exclusive protestant ascendancy: his secretary was Mr. Charles Grant, a man of deep religious feeling, liberal principles, and fine talents; whose appointment seemed a pledge to the great majority of the people for a concession of privileges: but a government, administered on this miserable system of counteraction, was peculiarly inapplicable to Ireland, and soon produced its natural effects in that distracted country: the expectations formed from the king's visit were fatally disappointed; the excitement of the period soon subsided; and the sanguine people, experiencing no immediate good from his majesty's presence, agreed to attribute many of their existing evils to that cause. Poverty and misery awakened discontent and lawless violence: flames were kindled, and the most diabolical outrages perpetrated; while religious discord inflamed the wounds of political animosity: executions, imprisonments, and a military occupation of several counties were unavailing to repress tumults, or to prevent the dreadful conflagrations and sanguinary struggles to which they gave origin: the lord-lieutenant was recalled; a special commission was sent into the disturbed districts; and exemplary punishments were employed to terrify those whom authority could not restrain.

His majesty had scarcely returned from Ireland, before he

encountered the fatigues of another expedition. Having embarked, on the twentieth of September, at Gravesend, he landed at Calais; and, travelling through Lisle, Brussels, Osnaburg, and Nienburg, entered the capital of his Hanoverian dominions on the eleventh of October, under a salute of 101 guns: accompanied by his royal brothers, the dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, he spent ten days in that ancient city, where he accommodated himself strictly to the manners of the people, speaking German, and wearing the Guelphic order; reviewing the military, and receiving civic deputations; visiting the university of Göttingen, and joining in a grand hunting party at Diester. Having undergone the ceremony of another coronation, he departed from this portion of his dominions, leaving behind him lively impressions of his private affability and condescension, where he had publicly established for himself the proudest of all titles,—that of a patriot king.

We must not omit to mention a striking instance of his majesty's liberality and attention to the interests of learning, which he this year exhibited in the foundation of the Royal Society of Literature: he not only conferred on this institution the distinction of a charter, but the more solid advantage of £1000 per annum for pensions to ten honorary members: premiums also were founded for the encouragement of compositions in prose and verse; and the society, whose records already contain a large mass of valuable information, boasts many of the most illustrious names in the literary world among its members and contributors.

Though the members of the holy alliance had totally suppressed the Neapolitan revolution, the new order of things continued in Spain, because the royal confederates were unable to reach the seat of the disease, and stifle its progress, without the active co-operation of France, and the sufferance of Great Britain: the system itself, however, had but little claim to respect, being neither a monarchy nor a republic; and the consequences of so defective a state of administration soon became visible. In May, the Cortes of Portugal opened their session; and in July, the king, returning from Brazil, accepted, and swore to maintain, the constitution: in essential points the plan of government coincided with that of Spain; but in some particulars it circumscribed the royal authority still more. In northern Europe, the Russian autocrat, bent on extending his power, and not content with the large territories which he possessed in two quarters of the world, determined to push forward his dominions into a third. By an ukase of September

the sixteenth, Russia appropriated to herself the north-west coast of America, from Beering's Straits to 51° north latitude, and the Kurile isles, as far as Urup, 45° north latitude; prohibiting foreign navigation in the vicinity, as well as on the coast. But the most important feature in foreign politics was the insurrection in Greece, the first step to independence in that interesting state; which, when properly settled and enlarged, will probably be found as important a barrier to Europe against the advance of Russian hordes, as unhappy Poland once offered against the Turks.

For ages past, the miserable Greeks, trodden under foot by their merciless oppressors, had looked up to European states, but looked in vain, for liberty: at length, after many instances of delusive hopes held out, which only plunged them deeper into calamity, they made the important discovery, that they who would be free, themselves must strike the blow: accordingly, at the conclusion of the late war, this energetic nation, which expected that the congress of Vienna would work a change in its affairs, finding these hopes disappointed, resolved to take measures for emancipating itself: in consequence, a secret society, called the Hetæria, the origin of which is involved in considerable mystery, assumed a more decidedly political character, extending its ramifications through the various districts of European Turkey: it soon included men of the greatest note in all those quarters; but was embraced by no persons with greater enthusiasm than by Greek soldiers of fortune, in the pay of England, France, and Russia; who, when disbanded, bore with extreme impatience a renewed subjection to Turkish despotism, and were ready to throw themselves into the arms of any party which spoke to them of vengeance. Reflecting on the Greek character, we should wonder how this extensive conspiracy could have remained so long concealed, did we not know that the stupidity of the Moslems in such matters was fully equal to the levity of their helots: nevertheless, the projects of the Hetærists were several times in peril of shipwreck; and never more than in the summer of 1818, when, not only their secret, but the whole plan of the Greek revolution, was revealed to captain W. H. Smyth, R.N.,²

² See Marshall's Naval Biography, vol. v. p. 154. It would be wrong to pass over the name of this distinguished officer without setting forth his example as an encouragement for others to honorable and persevering exertions in their profession. Captain Smyth, who had passed through a most laborious and brilliant

who considered himself in duty bound to disclose it to the British government, through Sir Thomas Maitland, then governor of the Ionian islands: they escaped, however, this, as well as other dangers; and fortunately for the Greeks, their cause excited a favorable interest in some of the cabinets, and in all the nations, of Europe; which preserved them from such interference as had been exhibited at Naples, and was preparing against Spain. Their only virulent opponents were the Castle-reagh party in England, and the cabinet of Vienna: the former was soon paralysed by the death of its leader, and the expression of public feeling; but 'the Austrians,' as I have elsewhere observed, 'appear, throughout the whole contest, both publicly and privately, to have done all in their power to increase the evils of suffering christians, to stifle the spirit of liberty in its birth, and to amalgamate their own cause with that of the ruthless Mussulmen, impalers of mankind.'³

As the disturbed state of Ireland was now the most prominent object of public interest, it formed the principal topic of

career during the late war, was left, at its close, a lieutenant, without interest or any other prospect of advancement, except in the resources of a vigorous, intelligent mind, highly adapted to scientific pursuits: knowing therefore how imperfect were the surveys which had hitherto been made of the coasts of the Mediterranean, he procured a Sicilian gun-boat, and carried on very extensive hydrographical operations, connecting Barbary, Sicily, and Italy, intirely on his own means, and without any official instructions. His labors however did not escape notice; and when submitted to the admiralty, created such admiration, that before the close of 1815 he was advanced to the rank of commander; and it was determined to engrave the most important portion of his surveys: accordingly, his Atlas of Sicily, with an accompanying memoir, has been published, and extensively circulated, not only in England, but in most other European nations. Captain Smyth subsequently accompanied lord Exmouth to Algiers, and was engaged in curious researches on the northern shores of Africa, relating to their antiquities, as well as to subjects of a political nature: he was also much employed by Sir Thomas Maitland and Sir Frederic Adam in the affairs of the Ionian islands; and returned home with an honorable fame, which he has increased by continued exertions in the cause of science, as well as of his peculiar profession; building an observatory at his own house in Bedford, and making observations which have established his character as one of the first practical astronomers of the age. He was made post-captain in 1824, and is foreign secretary to the Astronomical Society.

³ Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania, 8vo edit. vol. ii. p. 299.

his majesty's speech at the opening of parliament. On a principle of political conciliation, the marquis Wellesley had already been appointed lord-lieutenant of that country; and the attorney-general Saurin, the champion of the Orange party, was removed to make way for Mr. Plunkett, the eloquent advocate of catholic emancipation. From the high character of the chief governor, great expectations were formed; but the evils of the old system were too firmly rooted in the soil to be suddenly eradicated: the plan of counteraction was still suffered to exist in the appointment of Mr. Goulburn, as Irish secretary; and while the disabilities of so large a majority of the population remained, all endeavors to conciliate and impartially control both parties, only irritated that which government had usually favored, without satisfying the expectations of the other. To repress the spirit of lawless outrage, which was desolating this unhappy portion of the empire, the marquis of Londonderry, who had succeeded to the title at his father's death, introduced and carried two bills for arming the Irish administration with additional powers;—the insurrection act, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus*. Several members of opposition, among whom lord Lansdowne, Sir John Newport, and Mr. Hume were conspicuous, attempted, during the session, to induce parliament to inquire into the state of Ireland, but without success; and, notwithstanding the new powers granted to the executive arm, and the energy with which they were exerted, the dreadful scenes of nocturnal outrage continued unabated, until the districts in which they chiefly occurred were visited by the still more frightful scourges of famine and disease.

In the preceding year, the potato crop, on which the Irish peasantry almost wholly depend, had been very deficient; and this deficiency began to be severely felt after the disturbed state of the country had suspended the operations of industry, and deprived the working people of employment: while corn, therefore, and the better sorts of food were plentiful, the poorer classes were unable to procure sustenance of any kind, and were literally starving in the midst of abundance: the aggravated horrors of this misery soon produced a fever of the typhus kind, which, spreading rapidly among the wretched cabins of the country, carried off their inhabitants by thousands. The conduct of government was prompt and benevolent: £500,000 were instantly placed at the disposal of lord Wellesley, to be dispensed in charitable relief, or in employing the people on works of public utility: a still more effectual

aid was supplied by the generosity of the British nation; subscriptions for the relief of their suffering Irish brethren being opened in almost every town, and collections made in most churches and other places of public worship: under the management of a central committee in London, these contributions of christian charity were applied extensively to the relief of those who must otherwise have perished. Among the numerous instances of indefatigable exertion exhibited by the superior classes in Ireland, that of the archbishop of Tuam was above all praise: the conduct of the primate also was noble; but the scanty contributions of the great absentee landholders occasioned great and merited animadversion at the time, and is still brought forward as no contemptible argument for establishing a system of poor laws, suited to the condition of the Irish people.

At the commencement of this year, the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain manifested a visible improvement; but the continued distress of the agriculturists, whose interests appeared to be still farther depressed by an unexampled fall in prices through seasons of abundant produce, led to some modifications in the state of political parties: at many county meetings held previously to the present session of parliament, both landholders and farmers had loudly expressed their complaints; and the country gentlemen generally took such a part in this question, by uniting with the whigs and reformers in a call for retrenchment and remission of taxation, that the treasury bench began to feel alarm: this drove them to the expedient of strengthening their ranks by opening the doors of office to the Grenville party, which, though not united with the whigs, was generally opposed to ministers: it required neither tact nor delicacy to throw the bait before these eager aspirants after place and pension. As lord Grenville, the political head of the party, had retired from public life, the marquis of Buckingham was gratified by a ducal coronet, and Mr. Charles Wynne was made president of the board of control: but a far greater accession of strength, because of talent, was gained in the exchange of lord Sidmouth for Mr. Peel, as secretary of state for the home department: his lordship however was permitted to retain his seat in the cabinet, for the present shut against Mr. Canning, whose part in the late proceedings respecting the queen had created feelings of resentment in the king's mind; and whose general principles of policy were the aversion of him who held the king's conscience in his keeping: but the eminent services,

rendered by this gentleman to the East India company, as president of the board of control, and the high opinion which they entertained of his character, induced them to confer on him the appointment of governor-general: the regret however which Mr. Canning felt at losing the opportunity to serve his country in the manner most gratifying to his heart, and in a station better suited to the display of his talents and principles, was scarcely soothed even by the brilliant prospect of fame and fortune held out to him in another hemisphere, where the destinies of eighty millions of his fellow creatures would depend on his administration: even to the last, he continued in a disturbed state of mind on this subject; and the vacillation of his feelings was strikingly displayed in a farewell speech to his constituents at Liverpool. Wishing perhaps to give *éclat* to his departure from the scene of his glory, he, on the thirtieth of April, moved in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill for restoring the right of sitting and voting in parliament to Roman catholic peers: his speech, on this occasion, was a splendid combination of genius with taste; and hard as was the task for one who had spoken so often and so well on this subject, to find new sources of eloquence, the accomplished orator did not yield to the difficulty of his situation: seizing felicitously on the ceremony of the late coronation, he asked;—‘Do you imagine it never occurred to the representatives of Europe then contemplating this imposing spectacle, that it never occurred to the ambassadors of catholic Austria, of catholic France, or of states more bigoted, if there be any more bigoted, to the catholic religion, to reflect, that the moment this solemn ceremony was over, the duke of Norfolk would become disseized of the exercise of his privileges among his fellow peers? stripped of his robes of office, which were to be laid aside, and hung up, until the distant (be it a very distant!) day when the coronation of a successor to his present most gracious sovereign should again call him forth to assist at a similar solemnisation? Thus, after being exhibited to the peers and people of England, to the representatives of princes and nations of the world; the duke of Norfolk, highest in rank among the peers—the lord Clifford, and others like him, representing a long line of illustrious and heroic ancestors,—appeared as if they had been called forth and furnished for the occasion, like the lustres and banners that flamed and glittered in the scene; and were to be, like them, thrown by as useless and temporary formalities: they might indeed bend the knee, and kiss the hand; they might bear the train, or rear the canopy;

they might perform the offices assigned by Roman pride to their barbarian forefathers,—*Purpurea tollant aulæa Britanni*: but with the pageantry of the hour, their importance faded away: as their distinction vanished, their humiliation returned; and he who headed the procession of peers to day, could not sit among them, as their equal, on the morrow.'

He was strongly opposed by Mr. Peel, who professed himself unable to see any reason for exempting Roman catholic peers from political restrictions, to which a whole community, professing the same religious tenets, were by law subject. Mr. Wetherell was against partial concessions: if this bill passed, commoners would naturally expect to be admitted next year into parliament, without restrictions: he would rather deal with the measure *in toto*, than in this mutilated form: it however passed the commons by a small majority of five, but was rejected in the upper house.

As the small corps of Grenvillites, which had joined their ranks, could not support ministers if deserted by the country gentlemen, it became necessary to take steps for conciliating the landed interests, which were at this time pressed on their notice by frequent petitions to both houses: when Mr. Brougham, therefore, in order to try the temper of parties, moved, early in the session, that it was the duty of the house to relieve agricultural distress by a reduction of taxes; lord Londonderry met this covert attack on ministers, with an assurance that they intended to propose measures for that purpose; and as by this pledge he prevailed on the country gentlemen to afford him their usual support, the motion was negatived. Aware that the cause of this distress was not to be remedied by legislative enactments, but feeling the necessity of throwing out a tub to the whale, his lordship soon afterwards proposed the re-appointment of the agricultural committee; and, on receiving its report, submitted to the house a plan of relief; the principal heads of which were, a repeal of the annual malt duty, and a loan of £1,000,000 in exchequer bills to the landed interest, on the security of warehoused corn: it was also enacted, that, when wheat should reach the price of eighty shillings a quarter, at which foreign produce became importable under the existing law, a new scale of duties should be brought into permanent operation. The chancellor of the exchequer, at the same time, brought forward two financial operations: the first was a reduction of the navy five per cents to stock carrying only four per cent; the holders having the option of being paid off at par, or of accepting the lower rate

of interest, with a small increase of capital as a bonus : £140,000,000 of stock were thus commuted, which effected a saving to the public of more than £1,200,000 per annum : the second was a plan to diminish the present charge for naval and military half-pay and civil pensions, known in financial jargon under the name of the dead weight ; by extending it in the form of annuities over a period of forty-five years, instead of allowing it to be gradually extinguished through the death of annuitants. The whole project was like the expedient of a spendthrift, to obtain a little present relief at a ruinous but future cost ; and it could only be effected by inducing some great monied corporation to contract for payment of the amount of the pensions until their gradual expiration, for a certain fixed annuity : the scheme appeared fallacious to many members, and unintelligible to others ; nevertheless, it was passed by the house : but the great capitalists were not so readily convinced ; the chancellor of the exchequer was obliged to remodel his plan ; and the arrangement was completed in the following year by a bargain with the Bank of England.

When the estimates of expenditure for the year came under consideration, ministers felt themselves obliged to yield in many instances to the expressed wishes of the house. Early in the session, the opposition had been defeated by the small majority of four only, in a motion to repeal the salt duty ; and being now encouraged by the co-operation of many among the landed proprietors, they commenced a series of attacks on the cabinet, and forced several of their outposts : thus, a motion by Sir M. W. Ridley, for the reduction of two out of seven lords of the admiralty, was carried against ministers by a large majority ; and a second defeat was inflicted on them by lord Normanby, who proposed an address to the throne for the dismissal of one of the two postmasters-general. Encouraged by this success, opposition determined to assail one of the strongest works in the citadel of corruption, the diplomatic expenditure of the country : here, however, lord Londonderry took his stand ; declaring, that if the house persisted in going into a committee on that subject, it would be the signal for breaking up the administration. This menace had the desired effect of dividing the enemy's forces : the country gentlemen, though anxious for retrenchment, and irritated against ministers, were not willing to push their antagonists into office ; so that the motions for inquiry were rejected by very large majorities.

In the present unexampled state of agricultural distress, Mr. Western brought forward a motion on the subject of the currency, the alteration of which he assigned as the chief cause of the calamity; since it operated injuriously on all classes except the fundholder and annuitant, and by its ruinous effects on private contracts, as well as public payments, was calculated to endanger property of every description: he felt surprised, that the country had so long viewed with indifference an advance of ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent on our unparalleled taxation; most of which, as well as a large proportion of the debt, had arisen under a depreciated currency: and he concluded, by moving for a committee to inquire into the effect which the act of 1819, for the resumption of cash payments by the Bank, had produced on the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country. After Mr. Huskisson had replied at considerable length to the honorable member's propositions, and insisted particularly on the danger of taking so fluctuating an article as corn for the standard of our circulating medium; he moved, as an amendment, 'that this house will not in any way alter the standard of gold and silver.' The debate was then adjourned to the following day, when Mr. Grey Bennet argued in favor of the motion, hoping that the principle of an equitable adjustment might be discovered. Mr. Ricardo trusted, that no step would be taken to affect the existing law concerning cash payments: he admitted that great difficulties had resulted from the efforts made to return to sound principles, and he was not sorry that they had arisen; they would prevent that house from again having recourse to measures which so seriously affected the currency. After several other members had delivered their opinions on this important topic, Mr. secretary Peel rose, and said, 'that he would not enter on the discussion of abstract subjects: from the reasonings of gentlemen, down to the speech of the honorable member for Westminster, he was at a loss to guess the objects of the committee: the honorable baronet fairly stated, that the real object of the motion was to repeal the bill of 1819: he had declared, that the aim of the honorable gentleman (Mr. Western) was to establish a new standard of value, and to reduce the value of one pound to fourteen shillings. The house, he hoped, would pause, before they adopted a proposition for reducing the value of the currency by one-third. An honorable gentleman had talked of establishing and securing the foundations of public prosperity; but what would be the consequence to-morrow, if that night they adopted the proposition of the

honorable gentleman? every man of common sense would buy up every guinea in the country; the whole of our mercantile transactions would be disturbed, and all private contracts be open to inquiry and to defeat. Seven or eight years had already elapsed, since the house had pledged itself to return to the ancient standard of value. In 1814, the house came to a resolution, that the Bank of England ought to return to cash payments: in 1816, when his right honorable friend proposed a resolution on the subject, the late Mr. Horner would not consent, until an express declaration was made, that the legislature would see that cash payments should soon be resumed, and his proposition was accordingly adopted; but the restriction was continued, to enable the Bank to resume cash payments with greater convenience: so that since 1814, the country was accommodating itself to this new state of things; and after having accomplished that object, the house was told that the intent of the honorable gentleman's motion was, to reduce the value of money from twenty shillings to fourteen shillings. With respect to the situation of the public creditor, he had been paid in a depreciated currency: the public creditor lent his money in 1798 and 1800, on the understanding, that when the Bank restriction should expire, he would be intitled to his demand in the ancient standard of value: if the house, therefore, were to come to any adjustment of the nature proposed by the honorable gentleman, undoubtedly the creditor would have a right, and would demand, the full payment of his debt. It should be recollected, that a great number of persons held debentures, who were not the original purchasers, but had bought them for a full and valuable consideration: could the government turn round to those persons, and say;—The original holder gave for this debenture only eighty pounds; you gave ninety-five pounds; but we will not pay you more than eighty pounds? He (Mr. Peel) would say, that if the house were to proceed on this principle, there would be an end for ever to the very idea of national faith;—that faith, which had supported us under every difficulty, and which constituted the pride, the glory, and the support of this country.'

But although parliament wisely determined not to interfere with the currency, the fall of prices at this time became so alarming to all classes who suffered by the ruin of the agriculturists, and bankruptcies in consequence became so numerous, that ministers felt obliged to relax in their grand measure, and give the nation a little breathing time to recover itself. Peel's bill had provided, that the issue of one or two-pound notes,

whether by the Bank of England, or by provincial banks, should cease in May 1823; a precaution necessary to guard the Bank against a constant drain of its gold for exportation; and which it never could have supplied, if every private banker had been permitted to circulate small notes at pleasure, and lower the value of the currency: ministers, however, had come to the resolution of repealing that part of the bill of 1819, which confined the issue of small notes to the period of 1823; and an act in consequence was introduced into parliament and carried this session, by which the privilege of issuing such notes was extended for ten years more, till January 1833.⁴ The Bank had good reason for complaining of this measure; since the directors had accumulated a very large stock of gold, and now found the treasure thrown on their hands, and of little use, except to be disposed of at a less price than it cost: but with the above-mentioned change, symptoms of returning prosperity appeared in the nation: country bankers now increased their issues of paper; and, as farmers obtained a higher price for their produce, rents advanced, trade profited by the home market, and the whole country, before the period of 1825, had assumed so smiling, though illusory an appearance, that the chancellor of the exchequer, at the opening of his budget, took occasion to congratulate the house on the extraordinary degree of prosperity before them, to which he could see no assignable limit: the interesting and important nature however of this subject demands a little more space for its investigation.

During the late war, the reduction in the value of money greatly altered the contract between landlord and tenant, to the advantage of the latter; and this advantage happened to be progressive: the holders of land came to be considered as the most prosperous class in the community, and the natural consequence was a keen competition for land at advanced rents; it having been found advantageous for a tenant to agree to pay a rent beyond the rate of the time, because the alteration in the value of currency secured him from loss. Thus rents were raised; until, in 1814, they were calculated to average one pound per acre, on forty millions of acres, in Great Britain: at the same time, these forty millions of rent would command no more of the common commodities of life than twenty millions would have done in 1793, supposing the currency

⁴ Subsequently an act passed, limiting the period to April, 1829.

reduced fifty per cent in value: in this period, therefore, the rise was almost nominal; and the advance of this nominal rent only compensated landlords for the reduction in the value of the currency, and the additional taxes which they had to pay. But, after this period, the tide of value began to turn; the cause of depreciation was removed, and gold began to return to an exchangeable value in this country, nearer an equality with that which it had in other European nations; and if rents had fallen in amount as money rose in value, the productive part of the community would have felt no injurious effects from the alterations in rent, since only the same quantities of wealth would have been taken from them. Rents, however, did not fall, but remained at, or nearly at, the same nominal value; while those sums represented much larger quantities of wealth.

A principal cause of this was the tenacity with which tenants adhered to farms, through ignorance of the real nature of their situation. Farming had been so profitable an occupation, that men clung to it, in the natural hope that it would become so again: of the causes which had reduced the value of money, or of those which were then raising it, the farmers, as a body, knew nothing: they kept their ground therefore as well as they could; and by a general concurrence, as it were, rents, once paid in a currency of low value, were retained in a higher. The removal of the depreciation took place when the farmers retained much of the large profit made during a previous period; and they were therefore better able to bear that blow: the rise in the value of gold was more gradual, and gave them more time to adjust themselves to their reduced condition: their ability to pay their laborers became of course reduced also; their ingenuity was exercised in paring down wages to the lowest possible rate; and more laborers fell into the ranks of pauperism. Thus the farmers, the poor laborers, and the parish officers, struggled on under increasing difficulties; the prices of the articles consumed by paupers declined; but the sums necessary to give them relief continued equally large.

The burden of tithes too increased at the same time; for they now became much more than a tenth of the returns for the profit of capital, and the wages of the labor employed on the land: they became a tenth of the crop, when that crop was enhanced in value by the high rent; and they commanded in the market a sixth, if not a fifth, of the labor and capital value. From the produce of an acre, which would sell for eighty

shillings, twenty shillings would be paid for rent, and eight for tithe; but this eight shillings would be, not one tenth of the wages and profits, but a sixth and a half part; since eight shillings tithe is the sixth and a half part of fifty-two shillings, the sum left for wages and profit after paying the rent and tithe: from this fifty-two shillings must also be deducted enough to procure seed for the next year, and to keep up the farming stock, &c.; so that the tithe might be stated at about one fifth of the wages and profit: hence this burden began to cause more complaint than formerly; for it was more felt: while cultivators suffer under heavy taxes and high rents, the burden of tithe is greatly increased by them; hence the popular discontent at this impost, and the benefit, or rather the necessity, of a system of commutation for the sake of the clergy themselves. But the effects did not rest with the agricultural class: neither capital nor labor willingly remain struggling with difficulties, if they can escape from them; and while the manufacturing and commercial classes were in a better condition, capital and labor would be, to a greater or less extent, passing from agriculture to manufactures and commerce: this in fact would continue till competition had reduced all those classes nearly to a level: when this result took place, it was found that, although the price of landed produce was low, compared with what it had been in a currency of lower value; yet it was high, compared with the prices of manufactures. The reduction in the quantity and increase in the value of money caused prices generally to fall; but they fell less in landed produce than in manufactures, because it was loaded with heavy taxes, in high rent and tithe: the farmer consequently sold his produce high as compared with manufactures, for the same reason as the maltster sold his malt at a higher price than the barley-grower sold his grain: both parties, having to pay taxes, in addition to the common cost in the profit and wages of the time, as established by competition, were obliged to charge the taxes in the price of their respective articles. The manufacturers complained loudly of this, and demanded a free trade in corn; but the landed proprietors had a predominating influence in the legislature; and the distress which the farmers had really experienced, was made a pretext to compel all classes to purchase produce from the highly rented and tithed lands of Great Britain.

A great stimulus with the landholders to retain high rents, was the circumstance of their being all burdened with taxes; and a large majority of them under obligation to pay fixed

annuities or interest for money on mortgage and other securities borrowed in a currency of low value: men so circumstanced, with large definite sums to pay, must keep up their rentals, or the encumbrances will sweep away their whole property: it should also be recollected, that the different parties concerned were not aware of any alteration having taken place in the value of the money paid and received: they had their attention fixed merely on the market price of corn. Landlords, as well as tenants, wished only for high prices; and the common language of the latter was,—‘We mind not the amount of rent, let us only have high prices restored:’ to accomplish this point, various expedients were recommended: corn-laws, paper money, and a different system of banking were proposed, and, to a greater or less extent, adopted; but without accomplishing the desired object: it now cost more labor or goods to obtain a given quantity of gold; and therefore more labor or goods would exchange for that quantity of gold: if paper money was forced into circulation to excess, the quantity of currency became more than our command over the gold in the great market of the world would sustain, and gold separated itself from the paper; paper sank in value below gold, and was returned on its issuers; and thus it was again raised to a level with gold: or a part of the gold left the country; the currency remained that quantity which was determined by the reduced command over gold; and a low range of money prices was established accordingly.

From 1821 to 1824 the Bank of England notes in circulation were reduced by more than £4,000,000 sterling; but as the Bank was known to have issued much more than that sum in coin, no reduction, as far as it was concerned, had been made in the whole quantity of currency: if a part of the coin so issued left the country, this showed, that from some cause or other, our quantity of currency was greater than could be supported by the degree of command we had over the gold market of the world; and therefore the quantity was reduced by gold flowing out.

Peel’s bill, by making the Bank of England liable to pay its notes in gold, obliged it, and consequently all other banks, to keep the amount of their issues within the natural amount of the currency: thus it prevented depreciation, and a rise of prices consequent on that depreciation: this was the extent of its effects as far as respected prices; and any farther alterations in them are attributable to other causes. When the price of wheat this year fell lower than it had been since the commence-

ment of the late war, the causes to which it might be attributed were similar to those that were in operation in 1814 and 1815; namely, the great extent of land cultivated, an abundance of produce, and a withdrawal of the accommodation of country bank notes: it was one of the oscillations of that state of things which at one time produced cheap gold and a cheaper paper currency; high money prices, with very high farming profits; and, as a consequence, country bank notes in abundance during agricultural prosperity, which fed the farmer when he was in a state of repletion, but withheld supplies from him when in want: this accordingly was a period of severe distress to agriculturists.

The manufacturing classes were, for the time, benefited by the low price of landed produce; for though the wages of the inferior workmen decreased, they did not fall in proportion to provisions: but by the year 1824 this advantage was lost, as the wages paid for weaving gave no greater command over food than in 1820. Within this period, the quantity of manufactures was greatly increased;⁵ but such increase was not attended with a corresponding advantage to individuals or to the country, since the foreign consumer obtained the articles at a cheaper rate: an extension of manufactures, in a natural and ordinary way, by improvement in the modes of production, and through increased demand, may offer a fair subject of exultation; but if that extension be stimulated, and pushed farther on, by reducing agricultural laborers to a state of wretchedness, and driving them to take refuge in manufacturing districts, there to work at low wages, it may turn out an alarming evil.

The sum expended at this period for the relief of the poor indicated any thing but improvement in the condition of the laborers: even if the increase of population be taken into the account, that expended in 1821, when wheat was fifty-four shillings and five pence per quarter, was £6,358,703; while in 1813, when wheat was at 120 shillings, it was only £6,294,584; the sum raised in 1821 being equivalent to double the quantity of wheat then, that the sum raised in 1813 was to wheat of that period; and in 1822 the proportion was still greater.

In the mean time, the rate of profit on capital was falling, as it had continued to fall, since the war; which the prices of the public funds plainly indicated: the three per cent consols, which in 1815 stood at fifty-eight, reached eighty in 1823, and

⁵ In 1820, above 125,000,000 of pounds of raw cotton were used; in 1822, above 144,000,000; and in 1824, above 174,000,000.

ninety-four in the following year; and this alteration in the rate of interest corresponded with an alteration in the rate of profit, first experienced in the circulating, and finally in the whole capital of the country: under favorable circumstances, this decline in the rate of profit would have been accompanied by a rise of wages; but under existing circumstances, unfavorable causes counteracted that advantage: yet though it did not cause a positive rise in wages, it kept them higher than they would otherwise have been: if high profit had been added to the other baneful influences which kept down wages, the laboring classes would have been in a dreadful condition: the fall in the rate of profit was a consequence of the over-abundance of capital: when the loan-system, with its unproductive expenditure, ceased, wealth was left in the hands of its accumulators; to make a profitable use of it, they must either employ it themselves as capital, or place it for that purpose in the hands of others: capital thus became more plentiful in the various departments of production; and the competition of capitalists lowered the rate of the profit that could be obtained for its use.

Ministers were too prudent to disregard the temper shown by the house in their recent defeats, when the financial arrangements for the year were completed: after having resisted the motion for the abolition of the salt tax, they now announced an intention of lowering that impost from fifteen to two shillings a bushel: beside the annual duty on malt, the additional tax on leather, with that on windows and hearths in Ireland, was also remitted; and by these means a reduction of taxation was effected to the amount of about £3,500,000.

Among the other important proceedings of this session, may be noticed the passing of several bills to relax the navigation laws, and promote the system of free trade: the times of monopoly, prohibitions, and the many vexations connected with them, were now rapidly passing by; and it was seen that the future greatness of England could not be maintained by worn-out ineffective institutions. The loudest outcry against this relaxation was raised by the ship-owners, who affirmed, that the repeal of the ancient navigation laws would enable other states to outstrip our own, and prepare our ruin; as if the ship, which is but the means of commerce, was to be regarded as the end: it is however most satisfactory to find that time has shown the vanity of these predictions; for the relaxation of duties, by which we have been brought nearer to free trade, far from increasing foreign competition, and diminishing British

production, has led to results exactly the reverse—the decrease of foreign importation, and the increase of our domestic manufactures, attended by an augmented importation of the raw material.

Lord John Russell did not suffer the session to elapse, without calling the attention of the house, in a very long and able speech, to the important question of parliamentary reform; the chief feature in his plan being a proposed addition of 100 members to the house of commons, to be returned by the counties and larger towns; a suitable curtailment being effected, by divesting the smaller boroughs of half the privileges which they enjoyed. Such was the scheme, which, if adopted, might have long deferred the more comprehensive plan which finally was carried; but his lordship's moderate proposal was met by strenuous opposition, especially from Mr. Canning, who dwelt at great length on the difference between this and Mr. Pitt's plan; which latter, indeed, as if it had been intended only to delude, avoided all coercion; and treating a sacred trust as private property, proposed the establishment of a large fund to purchase boroughs from their proprietors! The honorable gentleman, having gone through his round of arguments in favor of that system which he found to 'work so well,' conjured the house to oppose the introduction of any visionary schemes; and asserted, that a search after abstract perfection in government is not an object of reasonable pursuit, because it is not one of possible attainment. 'I conjure the noble lord,' he said, 'to pause before he again presses his plan on the country: if, however, he shall persevere, and if his perseverance shall be successful, and if the results of that success be such as I cannot help apprehending;—his be the triumph, to have precipitated those results; mine be the consolation, that to the utmost, and the latest of my power, I have opposed them.' On a division, ayes were 164, noes 269; and this decreasing majority was received with loud and repeated cheers by the opposition. The proposal of a general resolution by Mr. Brougham, on the influence of the crown, which was introduced with the same ultimate views of reform, and supported by one of the ablest speeches ever delivered in the house, was rejected by a majority of 216 against 101.

During this session, the contest now raging between the the Greeks and their inhuman oppressors came under the notice of parliament. The fierce Mussulmen, in their indignation at the revolt and successes of those whom they had been accustomed to regard with ineffable contempt, had committed

the most atrocious cruelties: not content with hanging the Greek patriarch and several bishops in their pontifical robes, and ravaging with diabolical fury the beautiful isle of Scio, they had barbarously put to death the hostages placed in their hands by the wretched inhabitants. The sensations of horror produced by this latter event caused Mr. W. Smith to put a question on the subject to lord Londonderry, in the house of commons, regarding connivance, or at least neglect of remonstrance, on the part of our diplomatic agents; when the answer of the noble secretary, who made very light of the proceeding, '*believing that a calamity had occurred, in which ten or twelve hostages had been executed, and which he justified on the plea of barbarities committed by the other party,*' produced a severe remonstrance from Sir James Mackintosh, who asked him, 'if despatches had been received from our ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, from which it could be ascertained whether any of those persons who had been murdered by the barbarous tyrants at Constantinople, had been under the protection of the British minister, lord Strangford; or had surrendered themselves to the Turks, under any pledge, promise, or assurance of safety from that nobleman. He also took the opportunity of asking the noble marquis, whether it was mentioned in any of the recent despatches he had received, that the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople were filled with amiable Greek ladies and children, offered to the caprices of barbarous Mahometan voluptuaries. He asked, whether ministers could afford the nation any account of the new slave trade, recently established in the East, for amiable and accomplished christian females, by a government which was encouraged and supported by the administration of this free and enlightened country?'

The answer of the noble marquis to these interrogatories was any thing but satisfactory: he now '*believed* that eighty or ninety individuals had recently been executed; but that they could not be considered at all under the protection of the British government, or in such a situation as to require our interference on that ground.' The principles of the holy alliance itself seemed now about to be prostituted in the defence of atrocities, of which the annals of the world scarcely afford a parallel: the spirit of the British people, however, revolted against the spirit manifested by their rulers: addresses were circulated by individuals; public meetings were held; and subscriptions raised to support the Greeks in their noble conflict: the flame spread among other European nations; so that kings and potentates were kept within the line of duty by their

subjects, until the great cause of humanity, civilisation, and christianity triumphed over oppression, tyranny, and injustice.

Many questions of minor importance were keenly debated in parliament this session, which the limits of our work oblige us to pass over: so numerous indeed were the subjects that claimed attention from the legislature, and protracted its discussions, that the prorogation of parliament did not take place till the sixth of August. On the tenth, his majesty embarked at Greenwich, for the purpose of visiting Scotland; and landed on the eighteenth at Leith, where he was welcomed by immense multitudes, who accompanied him to the ancient city of Scottish kings. There was less of wild joy and noisy ebullition in their reception of the monarch, than he experienced last year in his Irish expedition; but the principles of veneration and attachment, among a people whose feudal ties had not very long been broken, were not less hearty and sincere: a love of country, self-respect, and religious feelings are generally observable in that submission which the Scotch nation pays to the higher powers. The royal *cortège* was escorted into the magnificent capital of the north by cavalry and infantry, highlanders, and gentlemen archers of the royal guard; and was interesting from the variety of costume adopted on this occasion. The king declared, that the beauty of the scenery, the splendor of the display, and the cordiality of his welcome, affected him more than any thing else in the course of his life: he passed the night at Dalkeith, the seat of the duke of Buccleuch; and next day held a levée at the palace of Holyrood-house, restored again to its ancient dignity; on which occasion he wore the highland costume; and at a court, held on the twentieth, his majesty received the homage of 3000 loyal subjects. He was entertained at a splendid feast in the parliament-house, given by the lord provost; at which Sir Walter Scott officiated as *croupier*: after his majesty's health had been drunk with great enthusiasm, he returned thanks in a dignified manner, and concluded with proposing the health of Sir William Arbuthnot, *baronet*, and the corporation of Edinburgh: when the king named the lord provost by a title which he thus conferred, the magistrate knelt and kissed the royal hand, held out at the moment; and the incident was loudly applauded by the company. His majesty afterwards gave as a toast—'Health to its chieftains and clans! and God bless the land of cakes!' Few monarchs have been so successful in uniting hilarity and dignity in meetings with their subjects as George IV.; nor are the personal qualifications of a sovereign, in this respect, of

small importance to the welfare and happiness of a nation : it was unfortunate, both for himself and his subjects, that the king generally adopted so strict a system of seclusion. On the twenty-ninth, his majesty departed by a different route, and in his way paid a visit to the earl of Hopetoun ; at whose house he conferred the honor of knighthood on Raeburn, the celebrated portrait-painter. A fair wind brought the royal squadron to Greenwich on the first of September, where the king landed amidst immense crowds of Britons, whose hearts require but little sympathy shown toward their feelings, their wants, and pleasures, to keep them steady in loyal attachment to their monarchs.

Two days only elapsed after George IV. had embarked on this excursion, when an event took place, which caused an important change in the cabinet ; leading ultimately to the adoption of a line of policy more generous, more favorable to the cause of general liberty, and therefore more agreeable to the spirit of the British constitution, than that which our government had for some time pursued : this was the death of the marquis of Londonderry, who, in a fit of mental aberration, supposed to have originated from the harassing labors of the late session, put a period to his existence with his own hand, at North Cray, in Kent. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of insanity ; and his lordship's remains were interred in Westminster Abbey. As a statesman and minister, this country had but little cause to lament his loss, or respect his memory ; yet the melancholy end of a nobleman, whose private character was adorned with many amiable and generous qualities, excited deep commiseration and regret among all whose feelings were not maddened by political exasperation : the shout of exultation uttered by the populace, while his coffin was removed from the hearse into the sacred edifice, was a sad proof of the prevalence of those principles, which the apostles of infidelity and sedition were at this time busily engaged in propagating ; and which demanded all that vigilance of government, all that counteraction from the virtuous and well-instructed portion of society, which they soon received. Carlisle, the notorious editor of blasphemous publications, had been tried in the court of king's bench, and was suffering the penalty of his offences in Dorchester jail : but in July this year, a female, named Susannah Wright, was brought before the same tribunal, and found guilty of continuing the publication of this man's blasphemies, composed since his imprisonment. The defendant, who was smartly dressed, and sur-

rounded by four or five more females, read a long address to the jury, in which she proclaimed her utter disbelief in christianity, or any other religion; professing her readiness to suffer in the cause of Mr. Carlisle, whose principles she admired, and of whose doctrines she was a willing propagator. These, and other trials of a similar description about the same period, provoked a considerable discussion respecting the equity and expediency of subjecting such offenders to the penalties of the law; and the religion so protected by acts and statutes, which make it penal to revile its fundamental doctrines, was termed by its opponents 'the religion of the magistrate.' Much need not be said on this topic: it is the duty of the magistrate to protect the christian religion; because the founders of our constitution, knowing that no political institutions can stand but on the basis of religious sanctions, have recognised christianity, as affording the best of all; and by an ecclesiastical establishment declared it part of the law of the land. With respect to the expediency of punishing those who vilify its doctrines, though religion may have nothing to fear from the infidel and blasphemer, yet it ought to be protected from contumely and insult, even for the sake of the people themselves, who are too prone to despise what they see vilified and degraded by others.

The difficulty of finding a successor to lord Londonderry, especially as leader of the ministerial party in the house of commons, was so great, as to subdue at length the resentment of the king toward Mr. Canning, as well as the aversion entertained by the lord chancellor, and his party in the cabinet, for that superiority of talent and liberality of principle which recommended him to the people at large: just therefore as the newly appointed governor of India was preparing to set sail, he was invited to take the high office of secretary for foreign affairs, where he could, with more satisfaction to himself, maintain the dignity and extend the glory of his country. By the decease of his predecessor, the greatest impediment to liberal principles at home, and to a just as well as generous policy abroad, was removed; and though the change was not immediately perceptible, yet the master-spirit was set at work; the power which had been accustomed to paralyse its efforts was no more; and with the accession of Mr. Canning to the British cabinet, a new epoch was about to commence in the general system of government.

When this new appointment was made, the duke of Wellington was deputed to take that place which the late lord London-

derry would have occupied at the great congress of Verona. The ostensible object of this assembly, was merely to put a period to the Austrian occupation of Naples and Piedmont; but the continental sovereigns had other and more important views, extending to the eastern as well as to the western extremity of Europe. For a considerable period, the Greek population, both of the continent and of the islands, had been in open revolt against their barbarian oppressors; and the contest, marked as it was by the most dreadful atrocities, continued without any apparent prospect of termination. The majority of the people in all christian states, with a numerous party even among the higher powers, urged by religious and political sympathies, or excited by the illusions of classical enthusiasm, earnestly desired the emancipation of an interesting people, boasting to be descendants of the noblest race of antiquity: among these, Russia, from the identity of her church with that of the Greeks, from the hatred which her people have always borne to the crescent, and from the ambitious views which her sovereigns for the last century have entertained regarding the dismemberment of Turkey,—might have been expected to espouse the cause of the insurgents: but it happened at this juncture, that all the prepossessions inherited or formed by the Russian autocrat were superseded by his fear of revolutionary movements; so that he not only refused to countenance the Greek cause, but visited its active partisans among his subjects with marks of his severe displeasure: not only did he cast aside ancient animosity, and all views of profiting by the various causes of dispute with the Ottoman government, which had been studiously kept open; but he himself originated an overture to the principal European states to interpose their mediation: under these circumstances, therefore, the representatives of the great powers at Verona, who were all interested in preventing the farther aggrandisement of Russia at the expense of Turkey, found little difficulty in averting the threatened war between those two empires, except what proceeded from the blind obstinacy of the Porte itself: with respect to the Greek insurgents, the congress refused even to admit an envoy from their nation.

The most active measures, however, of this assembly were directed toward Spain: the ultra-royalist faction, which had lately obtained a supremacy in the French councils, was secretly engaged in plans for the revival of absolute power in that country, which were studiously veiled from Great Britain by the most perfidious denials of any hostile intention. Taking

advantage of a pestilent fever which broke out in Catalonia, the French government had drawn a sanitary cordon round the Spanish frontiers; under pretext of which, every possible encouragement was given to the absolute party in Spain, and a furious civil war excited in the northern provinces, where the peasantry were particularly hostile to the new constitution. Toward the close of the present year, the rebel 'army of the faith,' as it was termed, was defeated by the celebrated Mina; when its broken remains, together with the self-constituted regency, found open protection within the French frontiers. The Bourbon government now began to complain of petty infractions of territory, caused by its own acts; and the sanitary cordon, increased by numbers, became gradually converted into an army of observation.

In these circumstances, the cabinet of the Tuilleries directed its representative at Verona to demand categorically of the other powers, whether they would support its armed interposition in the affairs of Spain; when the British government, totally unprepared for such a proposition, instructed their ambassador not only to decline a participation in any such measure, but to renew in the strongest terms their former protestation against the principle of such interference: the proposal however was readily accepted by the despots; and Spain was ordered, by notes from the four powers of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France, to alter her constitutional system, unless she chose to abide by the consequences of a refusal. The British ministers could only endeavor to avert this aggression by negotiations; while the French government, amusing them until its preparations were complete, finally directed the march of a large army under the hero d'Angoulême, to act in concert with the 'army of the faith,' and restore Ferdinand VII. to the plenitude of arbitrary power.

The report of such an interference, and the insolent language held by the holy alliance, excited much indignation in this country; but no share of it now fell on ministers; who, far from participating in the despotic league, were generally acknowledged to have used every practicable effort to counteract its designs: a thousand reasons existed to check the disposition for war, which a sympathy for the Spanish constitutionalists, and abhorrence of the conduct of their enemies, tended to excite; and the nation contentedly relied on the liberal principles which were now believed to predominate in the British cabinet.

While the well-known sentiments of Mr. Canning on

national law, and his patriotic zeal for the fame of Great Britain, thus inspired his countrymen with confidence in his honorable direction of foreign affairs, it was his aim, at the same time, to heal the intestine wounds of the nation : liberating himself from the thralldom of antiquated precedents, and availing himself of advantages from late experience, and the progress of political knowlege, he resolved no longer to stem the tide of public opinion, arrest improvement, and chain down the intellect of the age ; which indeed would soon have risen against him like a hundred-handed giant. In the prosecution of his liberal views, he was encouraged and assisted by the official promotion of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Huskisson ; the latter of whom was made president of the board of trade, while the former was advanced to the dignity of chancellor of the exchequer ; Mr. Nicholas Vansittart having taken refuge from the jeers of modern financiers in the house of peers, under the title of lord Bexley. Before we close the annals of this year, it may be remarked, that they were distinguished by the opening, in November, of the Caledonian canal, after a labor of twenty years, and an expenditure of £900,000 on that stupendous work, which opens a communication between the eastern and western seas, and enables vessels to avoid the dangerous navigation of the Pentland-frith, or the channel : a parliamentary grant also was made for the important design of publishing the early histories of Great Britain.

CHAP. LXII.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1823.

State of the country at the beginning of 1823—Opening of the session—Debates on Spain and the holy alliance—Affairs of Spain, and restoration of Ferdinand VII.—Affairs of Portugal—Agricultural and commercial interests—Free trade—The budget—Affairs in Ireland—Catholic question—Fracas between Mr. Brougham and Mr. Canning—Motions to reform the criminal law—Lord A. Hamilton's motion to reform the state of Scotch representation—Mr. Canning's opinions on the subject of reform, &c.—New London-bridge bill—Mr. Creevey's motion respecting the four and a half per cent. duty on the Leeward Islands—Expenses of the coronation—Other instances of extravagant expenditure exposed by Mr. Hume—The king's donation of the library of George III. to the public—Irish tithe commutation bill—Dissenters' marriage act thrown out—Prorogation of parliament—State of the country—Appointment of consuls to the South American colonies—Sentiments of Mr. Canning on this subject, &c.—Extract from his speech at Plymouth—State of the country at the beginning of 1824—Meeting of parliament—Attack on ministers on account of the occupation of Spain, &c.—Recognition of South American independence—Financial statement—Repeal of taxes, bounties, &c.—Steps towards a more unrestricted system of trade—Debates on the same—Alien bill, &c.—State of Ireland, catholic association, &c.

At the opening of this year, the country presented a more favorable aspect than it had assumed for some time past: commerce and manufactures continued to improve; and the distress of the farmers was somewhat mitigated, though the landed proprietors were still clamorous for relief. Many petitions on this subject were voted at county meetings, the most remarkable of which was held at Norwich, on the third of January, where a petition in unison with the views of the opposition was proposed and favorably received; but Mr. Cobbett, by way of amendment, presented an address, elaborately, though briefly

drawn up ; the principal propositions of which were, an appropriation of church property to the service of the state ; and an equitable adjustment, with regard, not only to the public debt, but to all debts and contracts between man and man : this amendment was carried by acclamation.

The session was opened on the fourth of February by commission, with a speech that elicited general approbation ; particularly that part of it, which expressed his majesty's determination to be no party to those proceedings at Verona which involved the interference of foreigners with the internal affairs of Spain ; and that he would use his earnest endeavors and good offices to prevent the calamity of war between that country and France. Mr. Canning, having vacated his seat for Liverpool,⁶ had not yet returned to parliament ; but an energetic philippic, pronounced by Mr. Brougham against the meditated aggression of the holy alliance, quite electrified the house : being, however, felt in Spain, it produced rather an injurious effect on the constitutionalists by the fatal confidence with which it inspired them. Even in the house of peers a spirit favorable to the liberal cause now manifested itself ; and this, added to the unanimity of public sentiment, inspired the party in opposition with hopes of a triumph over their opponents : with this intent, lord Ellenborough, on the twenty-fourth of April, made a motion in the upper house, for an address to his majesty, expressing, in high terms, a condemnation of the conduct of France and the allied powers, as well as of the British cabinet, in proposing to Spain to alter her constitution at their dictation : after a long debate, however, it appeared, that ministers had used every practicable effort to prevent the attack on Spain ; and in advising her to modify a constitution, which, being strongly democratic, was very inimical to the principles of true liberty, had acted the part of sincere friends. The motion was rejected by an immense majority ; and a similar one, introduced into the lower house by Mr. Macdonald, was disposed of in the same way, after a debate which lasted three nights. Mr. Canning, in a brilliant and argumentative harangue, forced on the house so powerfully a conviction that every thing had been done which duty and sound policy required in all our late transactions with Spain and the allied

⁶ Considering the duties imposed on him by the representation of that important town incompatible with those of his office, he resigned it, and was elected member for Harwich ; his friend, Mr. Huskisson, succeeding him at Liverpool.

powers, that Mr. Brougham became anxious to save his party from exposure to defeat by avoiding a division : in this artifice, however, he was foiled by his antagonist, who insisted on the question being put ; and as the opposition members tried to escape, by quitting the house, their opponents obliged the speaker, according to its rules, to declare the numbers ; when the result gave to ministers an overwhelming majority of 372 against 20.

No regular motion was again made in the British parliament on this subject ; and all things in Spain favored the cause of the holy allies. Though public feeling in Great Britain was roused to indignation by the perfidious conduct of the French government, yet it must be said, that public judgment was averse to our entering into a war, for the preservation of a constitution not worth preserving, and unsupported by the affections of the great mass of the people. The hero, therefore, of the Trocadero, at the head of a large army, and supported by the intire resources of an undistracted monarchy, with the confederated powers of Europe in reserve, found no great difficulty in triumphing over a cause, which was not only opposed by all the bigotry of the Spanish nation, but betrayed by the very troops and leaders who had sworn to uphold it. In a single, and almost bloodless campaign, despotism was restored together with Ferdinand VII., who, having been released by the constitutionalists from *surveillance* at Cadiz, exhibited the gratitude of a Bourbon, by the innumerable sentences of death, imprisonment, and exile, which signalised his restoration. The advance of the French army into Spain was a signal of revolt for the Portuguese royalists, headed by the queen and her second son, Don Miguel : by their intrigues, the inconstant soldiery, ignorant of the object of either party, were excited to destroy that slight frame-work of the constitution which they had raised, and to replace arbitrary power in the hands of the king.

The distress of the landed interests had been discussed in the house of commons early in the session, and subsequently on a proposition of Mr. Whitmore for reducing the import price of grain two shillings a year, until it should fall to sixty shillings : the motion was negatived ; but a disposition was manifested by government to open the trade in corn : the foreign trade committee was at the same time re-appointed, and farther steps were taken to free commerce from restrictions. In prosecuting this more liberal line of policy, ministers acted cautiously and prudently : they knew that the restrictive system involved so many

interests and prejudices, and had taken such deep root in the minds of a large body of men, that it must be gradually relaxed: even where it could be abandoned safely and without delay, it was difficult to persuade men to give it up.

On the twenty-first of February, the new chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget; and, discarding the old system of financial shifts and mystification, put the house in possession of his views with a candor and simplicity of statement that elicited much applause even from the opponents of government. The total revenue of the year was estimated at £57,096,988; and the expenditure, including the interest of the national debt, at £49,852,786, leaving a clear surplus of above £7,000,000: thence he proposed to relieve the burdens of the country by a repeal of assessed taxes to the amount of £2,000,000, retaining the other £5,000,000 toward the liquidation of the national debt. In this arrangement, rejecting what he considered the delusion of a larger nominal sinking-fund, which in fact had always been appropriated to different purposes, he swept away the cumbrous machinery which supported it; and, by placing the financial system of the country on a more intelligible foundation, he obtained much applause, and carried his estimates for the year with very slight opposition.

No small portion of the session was wasted in discussing the daring insolence exhibited by the agents of the ascendant party in Dublin. The government of lord Wellesley was too impartial and enlightened to escape abuse from the Orange faction: he had prohibited them to dress up the statue of king William in College-green; a ceremony, which perpetuated animosity, and frequently led to riot and bloodshed: the Orangemen, however, took fire at this interference with their insulting display of ascendancy; and when his lordship, on the fourteenth of December, visited the theatre, some wretches threw a bottle at him from the gallery. Three persons were taken into custody; and the attorney-general indicted them for a misdemeanor, instead of a capital offence: bills of indictment, however, were found against two only by the grand jury; and as two persons cannot commit a riot, the finding was nugatory: Mr. Plunkett then filed an *ex-officio* information against these persons, who, on evidence received, he believed guilty; but the petty jury could not agree in their verdict, and the prisoners were discharged. The matter was subjected to much tedious investigation in parliament, which tended at all events to show the daring manner in which juries were packed, and the name of justice was abused in Ireland.

On the seventeenth of April a motion for a committee on the catholic claims was made by Mr. Plunkett, but lost by the question of adjournment being carried by 313 voices against 111. The previous discussion was remarkable for an attack made on Mr. Canning, fiercer than the susceptible temperament of that gentleman could bear with patience. Mr. Tierney, who had declared that ministers deserted the question of catholic emancipation, was followed in the debate by Mr. Brougham; and he, after praising the single, manly, and upright conduct of Mr. Peel, who had never swerved from his opinions, and who had not taken office on a secret understanding to abandon the question in substance, while he continued to sustain it in words; contrasted this conduct with the supposed delinquency of Mr. Canning; who, 'when the point was, whether he should submit to a sentence of transportation to India, or be condemned to hard labor at home; when his fate, in fact, depended on lord chancellor Eldon, and his own sentiments on the catholic question; had exhibited the most incredible specimen of monstrous truckling, for the sake of office, which the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish.' At this moment, Mr. Canning, who for some time had labored to control his emotions, and sat with his eye fixed on the member that was speaking, suddenly started up, and interrupted him by exclaiming—'I rise to say, it is false.' A deep silence for a few seconds ensued; after which, the speaker called on the right honorable secretary to retract an expression, which any individual of his high rank and office must know to be a complete violation of the rules and orders of the house: Mr. Canning, however, though sorry to have used any word which violated the decorum of the house, declared, that he would not for any consideration in the world retract the sentiment; and this he repeated in answer to farther remonstrances from the speaker, who called on the chancellor of the exchequer, and the house generally, to support him in his authority. As Mr. Brougham would not explain till Mr. Canning had retracted, Mr. Banks moved that both members be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms: at last, Sir Robert Wilson extricated all parties by a suggestion of hypothetical and mutual explanation; Mr. Banks withdrew his motion; and the right honorable and learned gentlemen declared, they would discard the subject from their minds.

On the twenty-first of May, Sir James Mackintosh renewed his praiseworthy efforts to reform our criminal code, in a series

of resolutions, the first of which went to take away the punishment of death in cases of larceny committed in shops and dwelling-houses, and on navigable rivers. Though these were resisted and negatived by the house, four bills were afterwards brought in by Mr. Peel on the same subject; which, though they fell short of the reforms contemplated by Sir James, were important steps in the rational reform of our criminal law: by these bills, government was enabled to employ male convicts in hard labor, and the judges were relieved from the obligation of passing sentence of death on certain malefactors, except in case of murder. On the twenty-seventh, Mr. Lennard obtained leave to bring in a bill, abolishing the old and barbarous law, which sentenced the corpse of one guilty of *felo-de-se* to be buried at two cross roads, with a stake driven through it; leaving the burial to be performed in private, without the ceremonies of the church.

On the second of June, lord Archibald Hamilton brought under consideration the state of the representation of counties in Scotland: and he particularly invited the attention of Mr. Canning to this important question, as one with which he had not yet grappled; as perfectly different in its nature from that of any question about reform in England, where representation was founded on property and population: neither the one nor the other was necessarily its basis in Scotland; for in the counties it was not founded on property, and in the burghs it was not founded on population. 'In England,' said his lordship, 'the object of all laws on the subject of representation, was to correct the abuses which had crept in, and to enforce the rights of electors; but he would show that the defects of the system in Scotland did not rest in the abuses, but in the very nature of the law: for this assertion he had the authority of lord chancellor Thurlow, who declared, that the evil was fundamental, and such as the legislature alone could remedy; for the right of election might rest intirely in the hands of those who had no earthly stake in the country.' After a very able and argumentative exposition of the case, his lordship proposed five resolutions, the latter of which went to pledge the house to take the subject into its serious consideration during the next session, with a view to effect some extension of the number of votes, and to establish some connexion between the elective franchise and the landed property of the country: the motion was ably seconded by Mr. Maxwell, and supported by Sir George Clerk, Mr. Kennedy, Sir James Mackintosh, lord

Milton, and others; but being opposed by lord Binning and the lord advocate,⁷ was negatived without a division, after the previous question had been carried by a majority of 152 against 117 voices.

The noble mover failed in securing the approbation of Mr. Canning to his proposal; since that gentleman, with all his liberality on other subjects, would never listen to any arguments which might open the door to parliamentary reform: on this question, he always conceded what was undeniable in fact, and clear to an unprejudiced mind; never, like many of his colleagues, with over-ardent zeal putting falsehood and truth on a level, without conscience or discrimination; but taking his stand on some specious and tenable objection: thus, instead of asserting that the system was perfect and pure, he granted that many evils complained of actually existed in the representation; but still he asserted, that the system worked well; and its evils were far less than those which would result from the application of a remedy. If Great Britain could have been always sure of possessing an enlightened minister at its helm like Mr. Canning, his reasons would have held good: indeed, this principle might be carried out to much greater extent; for a despotism would be the best of governments, if the despot were the best of men. In the mean time, the great question of parliamentary reform was progressive, and the very obstinacy of Mr. Canning inclined many to favor it; since no public man ever existed, in whose character the flaws were more dilated on, or exaggerated by political enmity; and multitudes, who were not aware of his good qualities, were taught to believe that 'the system worked well' for the gratification of his rapacity and ambition.

On the sixth of June, Mr. Brogden brought up the report of a bill, by which the sum of £150,000 was to be advanced by government, toward the construction of New London-bridge: to Mr. Hume's objection against this advance in the shape of a gift, it was satisfactorily alleged by Mr. alderman Wood, that the work was one of great national utility, and not intended exclusively for the benefit of the city of London; that the money was to be paid by instalments, extending over a term of seven years; and that the corporation were ready to contribute

⁷ An officer, who for a great length of time seemed as if he was appointed to be the defender of all abuses, and to take a part exactly opposite to that assigned to the Roman consul; in short, to see—*Ne quid 'commodi' caperet respublica.*

every thing in their power on the occasion; to give up nearly £200,000 that was in their hands, and to raise £400,000 more on mortgage: Mr. Ricardo carried on this subject with his friend Mr. Hume; but the report was received, and the resolution for the proposed advance carried. On the ninth, Mr. Creevey called the attention of the house to a very heavy grievance, under which the Leeward Islands were oppressed, by what was called the four and half per cent duty: he held in his hand petitions from five of these islands, setting forth their present calamitous circumstances, with their utter inability to bear this tax; and throwing themselves on the liberality of parliament: the honorable member, having read the petitions, which complained generally of distress, depreciation in the value of West Indian produce, and the hardship of the four and half per cent duty, proposed the abolition of an impost, on which were saddled so many pensions granted to our aristocratic families: he thought it hard on these five islands, that they should be burdened with the maintenance of so many ladies and gentlemen of condition in England: he was the last man to desire any interference with the private arrangements of the royal family; but the king had given pensions to two of his sisters at the expense of the unfortunate Leeward Islands: he meant nothing offensive; but he could not understand on what principle these annuities had been granted; why these islands were singled out for the honor of contributing to the subsistence of the duke of Gloucester and the prince of Hesse Homburg, he could not conceive: then there were five pensions of £500 each to the Misses Fitzclarence: there were also gentlemen high in office—one whom he saw in his place, and one whom he did not see—who were pleased to allow the Leeward Islands to make provision for their families;—an honor, of which they were by no means desirous, and a principle to which he decidedly objected: right honorable gentlemen could not say they were ignorant of the colonies; their own acts proved their knowledge of the fact: they could support the colonies, and urge their distress, willingly enough in a particular way: they could tax East India sugar, and the consumer of West India sugar in England; but it never occurred to them, to abate that tax out of which their own pensions were derived. The object of the resolutions with which Mr. Creevey concluded, was to obtain a pledge from the house, to remove this grievance from the Leeward Islands, and this scandal from the mother country. He was answered by Mr. Canning, who had been directly

hinted at in his speech ; and who objected to the motion, as affecting the right of the crown to this particular branch of revenue, and its right of appropriating the same in any manner deemed suitable by his majesty's government. Though he acknowledged the great distress under which the Leeward Islands were then suffering, and wished that the fund could be so modified as to meet the circumstances of that distress ; yet he deprecated every notion of placing it at the arbitrary disposal of parliament, under whose sanction it had so long existed in its present state : indeed, he argued, no vote of that house existed to support the honorable gentleman's argument : Mr. Burke himself, in his most sanguine efforts to effect a financial reform, had never entertained a doubt on the subject of this fund ; but left it, as he found it, at the disposal of the crown. With respect to his own case, alluded to by the mover of this question, he observed ; ' it was true, that many years ago he had held an office ; on retiring from which, by uniform practice, and that sanctioned by law, he became intitled to a pension of £1200 per annum ; but he waived his claim to that annuity ; and it was true, that such right was afterwards commuted for a pension of half the amount, for a person who had direct claims on him for protection ; he remembered also, with great satisfaction, that this choice was thought at the time a considerable sacrifice on his part : it was certainly open to parliament to deliberate on particular instances in the disposal of this fund ; and he would not complain of the manner in which the honorable gentleman had exerted his right in the present instance : yet he well knew that he (Mr. Canning) could, if he chose, have taunted him with the names of persons in the same situation, and connected with parties whom the honorable gentleman highly respected ; that mode however was too invidious to follow ; the house had a right to examine into supposed abuses as to the application of this, as well as any other branch of the revenue ; but he must say, the honorable gentleman did not seem to have made out any case which called for censure.' The house agreed with Mr. Canning ; and, rejecting Mr. Creevey's resolutions by a majority of 103 to 57 voices, gave an accelerated velocity to the cause of parliamentary reform.

At the same time, the expenses of the late coronation came before the commons ; when many severe animadversions were called forth from Mr. Hume, not only on the length of time which had elapsed before they were laid on the table, but on the enormous extent to which they ran. The promise given by

the chancellor of the exchequer was, that they should not exceed £100,000; but they now turned out to be £238,000; the surplus having been taken from the French indemnities! Estimates so totally at variance with the expenses were rightly characterised as a folly and a farce: some of the items of this sum were especially noticed: for instance, the sum of £111,000 for the decoration of Westminster-abbey and hall; £27,700 paid to the master of his majesty's robes, on account of those habiliments; and £3000 granted to Sir George Naylor toward the expense of publishing an account of the ceremony. Of what service, said Mr. Hume, was it to attempt the relief of public burdens, by cutting down small clerks, and inflicting distress on other individuals, when such sums as these were expended for such purposes? He also reproached the ministry with very bad faith, in calling for so small a sum as had been originally mentioned, and afterwards proposing a vote to the amount of £238,000: they knew, that if the latter sum had been originally asked for, it would not have been granted: he would also accuse the chancellor of the exchequer and his colleagues of violating public faith, by taking money to which they had no right; subtracting £138,000 from the sum paid by France for indemnities to this country, and which ought to have been appropriated to the ways and means. The honorable gentleman thought the house would fail in its duty to the public, if it did not, before it proceeded one step farther, call for an examination into the profligate extravagance of this job; and he concluded with a proposal for a committee for such purpose; and especially to inquire, by what authority the sum of £138,000 had been applied to the coronation expenses without the previous sanction of the house.

On Mr. Hume's amendment being put, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and, under pretence of being taken by surprise, made a miserable reply: however, it satisfied his audience, and the amendment was negatived by a majority of 110 to 65. The house next went into committee; and the sum of £160,000 was proposed toward defraying the civil contingences of 1823: this gave Mr. Hume an opportunity of bringing forward many other items in the extravagant system of expenditure now pursued; particularly, the sum of £5327 for furniture in the royal yacht, £504 for plate in the Rolls-chapel, and £1329 for the standards of the three regiments of foot guards: he also drew attention to the charges made on account of foreign ambassadors; though, in a diplomatic point of view, this country was worse off than any other in Europe;

every thing being done at the head-quarters of our allies ; while our government was kept in such ignorance, that its ambassadors might as well be kept at home. The honorable member, in the absence of returns, which the secretary for foreign affairs refused to produce, referred to the comparative statement of expenses for the diplomatic services of 1792 and 1820.

	1792.	1820.
Total amount of salaries and annual allowances	£83,463	£149,778
Outfit and equipage	800	13,191
Extraordinary and incidental expenses, charges, &c.	5,985	35,092
Pensions to retired ministers	11,486	54,204
	£101,734	252,265
		101,734
		£150,531

‘And this difference,’ said Mr. Hume, ‘exists, although Poland and Brussels, the Hans Towns, Genoa, Cologne, Hesse Cassel, and Venice form each an item in the account of 1792, and not in that of 1820 ; as they have been expunged from the list of independent states ; while the only additional states included in that of 1820 are Wurtemberg and Brazil, with £2000 for Persia.’ After commenting on the distinction between that part of the civil list appropriated to the special purposes of government, and the other part applicable to the expenses of the king’s household, and contending, on the authority of Mr. Fox and Sir Fletcher Norton, that the former was under the control of parliament ;—the honorable gentleman concluded by moving for a reduction of £52,799 from the present vote of £160,090 : Mr. Canning, however, defended the expenditure ; the house was satisfied ; and Mr. Hume’s amendment was rejected by seventy votes against sixteen.

As our attention has been called to so many cases of ministerial profusion, several of which arose from a desire to indulge his majesty’s love of splendor ; justice requires that we should notice a noble instance of royal munificence, calculated, not only to benefit the present age, but to extend its advantages into remote generations. By a letter addressed to lord Liverpool, in January, the king signified his intention of presenting to the British nation the very valuable library collected by his

father, for the purpose, according to his own expressions, of 'advancing the literature of the country, while he paid a just tribute to the memory of a parent, whose life was adorned with every public and private virtue.' This letter, together with certain resolutions of the trustees of the British Museum on the subject, having been, by his majesty's command, laid before the house of commons, was referred to a select committee, which, on the sixteenth of April, made its report. In this, after noticing the great value and extent of the library, consisting of more than 65,000 volumes, besides a very numerous collection of geographical and topographical works, the committee expressed an opinion, that the greatest benefit would accrue to the public, if his majesty's magnificent donation were placed under the care of the trustees of the British Museum; and that a building should be raised for its reception, forming part of a general design for an edifice calculated to contain the several collections of the whole Museum: the committee, in conclusion, recommended that successive grants should be made to effect the purposes above specified; in consequence of which, the house voted a sum of £40,000 to commence the work; and the foundation of the new structure, on a plan prepared by Mr. Smirke, and approved by the lords of the treasury, was laid this year. The noble room intended to receive the royal library was completed in 1827; and in the following summer this valuable collection was transferred to the Museum, where it remains a splendid monument of the good taste and patriotic spirit of George IV.

During the present session, a very beneficial act was passed for the commutation of tithes in Ireland; and a motion, made by lord Lansdowne, for the second reading of the dissenters' marriage bill, which might enable them to have the marriage ceremony performed in their own chapels, was warmly supported by lords Ellenborough, Calthorpe, and Liverpool; but being opposed by the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, and several other prelates, it was thrown out by a majority of twenty-seven against twenty-one. The remainder of the proceedings in parliament were not marked by any character of peculiar importance; and the session, which was on the whole very laborious, but more harmonious than any other since the peace, was closed by commission on the nineteenth of July.

Throughout the remainder of the year, the internal prosperity of the country appeared to advance, and public confidence in the government increased: this feeling was mainly

attributable to an altered tone in the administration, which was ascribed to the ascendancy of Mr. Canning over the cabinet; while the general popularity of that minister was increased by the whole tenor of his measures. One of the most decided of these, and most advantageous to Great Britain, was the appointment of British consuls to the chief commercial places in the revolted colonies of Spain, as soon as the mother country fell again under the despotism of its tyrannical monarch: and this virtual recognition of South American independence was accompanied with a spirited declaration to the perfidious cabinet of M. Villele; which was plainly told, that although Great Britain, faithful to her principles of neutrality, would not oppose the attempts of Spain to recover her colonies, the interference of any third power would be met by force. Though British feelings, irritated as they were by the treachery of France and the arrogance of the holy allies, had been suppressed by the consideration, that war would grievously interrupt public industry and improvement, yet the British minister was anxious to make it known, that there was a limit to our forbearance; and although the ultimate object of this country was the peace of Europe, it was not to be supposed that she either feared or was unprepared for war. These sentiments he expressed in one of his happiest effusions, when returning thanks for the freedom of Plymouth, conferred on him during a visit to that noble seat of the British navy, which afforded him so beautiful and appropriate an illustration of his subject. 'Our present repose,' he observed, 'is no more a proof of our inability to act; than the state of inertness and inactivity, in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof that they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness; how soon, on any call of patriotism or necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion; how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage; how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. As is one of these magnificent machines, when springing from inaction into a display of its might, such is England herself, while, apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion: but God forbid that that occasion should arise! After a war

sustained for nearly a quarter of a century, sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arrayed at times against her, or at her side ; England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction. Long may we be enabled, gentlemen, to improve the blessings of our present situation ; to cultivate the arts of peace ; to give to commerce, now reviving, greater extension, and new spheres of employment ; and to confirm the prosperity now generally diffused throughout this island.'

The year 1824 shone still more auspiciously than its predecessor on our commerce and manufactures ; which appeared to receive a new impulse from the more enlarged and secure opening of the South American market : even agriculture felt the influence of amelioration ; and in all other branches of industry prices began to rise ; the complaints of the landowners were faint or unheard ; and the produce of our revenue exceeded the most sanguine expectations. This revival of prosperity, with an abundance of capital accumulated in the late war, but shut up during a long stagnancy of the markets, now gave a dangerous activity to enterprise, and generated that spirit of headlong speculation, which appeared in the memorable era of joint-stock schemes : the disastrous consequences, however, of this extraordinary mania were as yet neither felt nor foreseen ; and when parliament met on the third of February, the congratulations expressed by the commissioners, in the name of his majesty, on the prosperous state of the country, were echoed back in the addresses of both houses. So popular in general and unexceptionable had been the measures of government, that the opposition found little to attack in our internal policy ; the continued occupation of Spain therefore by French troops, and the expediency of completely recognising her revolted colonies, formed, for a time, the chief objects of discussion. Lord Lansdowne, deploring the fate of Spain, regretted that ministers had not remonstrated with more energy, and thought that a greater advance should have been made towards our complete recognition of South American independence. Mr. Brougham, in the lower house, attacked the general tyranny and particular cruelties of the Austrians in one peninsula, and of Ferdinand in the other, with a fierce battery of invective ; and, in allusion to the impotent efforts made by this country to ward off the blow from the constitutionalists, observed, ' that England was bound over in recognisances of £800,000,000 to keep the peace.' Our

foreign policy regarding Spain was subsequently discussed on motions made by lord John Russell and lord Nugent; but it was vindicated by Mr. Canning, who showed that the conduct of Great Britain had been regulated by a due regard for her interests and dignity, as well as by an honorable attention to the just principles of international law; and that while we preserved peace, so necessary under our present circumstances, we had, by bold and open remonstrances, paralysed schemes which the holy allies had formed, for extending their system of interference from the government of Spain to the internal condition of her colonies. These explanations were so generally satisfactory, that, except in the case of lord Lansdowne's motion, the question was not pressed to a division. The propriety of admitting the South American colonies into the rank of independent powers, was, in fact, only a consideration of time; and before the middle of this year, our cabinet determined on the recognition of Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres; with which states treaties of amity and commerce were concluded.

Thus, the power so long exercised with injustice and partiality by Spain over her colonies vanished for ever: whatever forms the political relations of these states with the mother country may assume, their independence is, at all events, established. 'But,' as professor Heeren rightly observes, 'they have their most dangerous enemy in themselves. Who, indeed, would ensure to them solidity and permanence? for, though we see republican institutions springing up almost every where in this continent; how can such subsist, even in the most favorable event, among nations, where color determines the caste, and military commanders prescribe laws? and how can the universally proclaimed freedom of the press be compatible with the hierarchy?'⁸ The learned writer might have gone a step farther; and asked, how any political liberty can subsist with that hierarchy, or with that exclusive and intolerant support of the Roman church, which these states have interwoven in the very frame-work of their constitutions? What party, when freedom was introduced into Spain and Italy, was so much on the alert to oppose it, as the popish clergy? They exerted every nerve to prevail on Austria and France to attack the new institutions: in both countries, the common soldiers and the people, under the dominion of the priests, refused to fight; and the invaders overran them in a single campaign, almost without the necessity of striking a blow.

⁸ vol. ii. p. 381.

From the financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer, it appeared that the public revenue continued to improve: notwithstanding the remission of taxes, it had last year produced £57,672,999; leaving a clear balance of £1,710,985 over the expenditure, beside the established sinking-fund of five millions. A part of this surplus he proposed to employ in a grant of half a million for the erection of new churches; of £300,000 for the gradual renovation and improvement of Windsor-castle, that majestic seat of British monarchs; also of £60,000 for the purchase of the Angerstein pictures, in furtherance of a laudable design to establish a national gallery for the fine arts. These acts of liberality were rendered more easy by the unexpected repayment of £2,500,000 by Austria, for loans advanced by the British government during the late war: it was, in fact, but a small dividend on the debt due to this country; but, though it did not satisfy the expectations of some gentlemen in the house, it was rightly characterised by Mr. Canning as a god-send, and was dispersed accordingly.

In his financial calculations for the present year, Mr. Robinson anticipated a continued surplus, on the strength of which, he proposed a farther repeal of taxes to the amount of more than £1,000,000; and as an auxiliary measure, he suggested the discontinuance of certain bounties on fisheries and manufactures, which were no longer necessary: an extension also of the scheme for reducing the interest on the national debt was a prominent feature in his arrangement: thus, he proposed to convert the old four per cent stock, amounting to £75,000,000, into a new fund, bearing interest at three and a half per cent; giving the holders of course the option of being paid off at par, or of acceding to the new plan, which was more profitable to the country than that of last year; since no bonus was given or required, and therefore the nominal amount of the debt was not increased. This arrangement, by which an annual saving of £375,000 was effected, met with the decided approbation of parliament, and was carried into execution with great facility.

Important steps were taken, this session, towards a more unrestricted system of trade: one important measure consisted in a repeal of what were still left of the protecting duties between Ireland and Great Britain; and this, at the demand of the Irish themselves, who were taught by experience how unavailing those fiscal barriers had been to improve their trade.

Enactments also were passed, tending to withdraw the British silk-manufacturers from the protection of laws which prohibited the importation of foreign silks into this realm: the plan adopted, was to lower the duties on the importation of raw and thrown silk, to repeal the bounties on the exportation of this manufacture, and to substitute a duty of thirty per cent on foreign silks, instead of intirely prohibiting their importation. The first part of the scheme was generally approved; the second was received with indifference; but the third met with great opposition from the trade, and counsel were heard against it at the bar of the house of commons. The principles on which ministers proceeded were ably expounded by Mr. Huskisson, who illustrated the importance of liberating commerce from all unnecessary restrictions, by tracing the progress of the cotton trade: he asked, if restrictions had not been removed from that manufacture, whether this country could ever have made the gigantic exertions which distinguished it in the last war? 'Does not,' he said, 'the number of persons employed in it, to the amount of 1,200,000, whose wants are supplied in return for their labor, afford more real encouragement to agriculture, than any regulations to force up artificial prices? It is to the growth of wealth, and the progress of industry, that this country must look, both for relief from present burdens, and for the means of making fresh exertions whenever they may be demanded: but it is not in the power of any artificial measures to give that real relief to agriculture, or to any other kind of occupation, which can only flow from increasing activity, and constant industry among the people. The most remarkable feature in the history of the cotton manufacture is the impetus which it has given to invention and discovery, and the ingenuity which it has called into action: the effect of this has been to produce the article at the lowest possible rate; and we find, that a greater number of persons have been employed to direct the machinery, in proportion as the manufacturer has had the prospect of fresh resources. But what is the situation of the silk trade under the prohibitory system, which some consider its greatest advantage? Why, the monopoly has produced, what it is always sure to produce, a total indifference to improvement. That useful zeal, which gives life to industry, which fosters ingenuity, and which in manufacturing concerns promotes a desire to produce the article in its most economical form, has been completely extinguished; and in this branch we are left far behind our

neighbors: if the same system had been continued with respect to the cotton manufacture, it would have been at this moment as subordinate in extent to the woollen, as it is junior to it in its introduction into this country.'

Mr. Huskisson proceeded to notice the unpleasant effects of prohibitory duties, in the power they give to the commonest ruffian in the street of snatching from a person of any rank an article suspected to be of foreign manufacture: he showed their injurious effects in the promotion of smuggling, and in the breaches of the law to which they led so many persons: he also showed, from the confession of the petitioners against the proposed regulations, that a duty of thirty per cent would be quite sufficient to protect our own manufactures: indeed, a deputation from Manchester had declared, that, under such a duty, they could meet the French in any country of the world. 'I am perfectly aware,' he observed, 'that the proposed alteration must affect particular interests; but in every change there will be partial interests that must suffer for a time; and all that parliament can do, all indeed that is its duty to do, is to deal with them as tenderly as possible. There are also persons not remiss in opposing this measure, who have created a strong feeling out of doors against it; I mean all those, who, under the prohibitory system, have benefited by smuggling: they are naturally afraid that their trade will suffer; and that if there be no prohibition, no lady will fancy a French article, when she can get an English one.'

Mr. Baring, one of the enlightened advocates of free trade, being probably influenced by the prejudices of his constituents at Taunton, resisted this measure as a hazardous experiment: the French, he urged, had an advantage over us in silk, in machinery, and in cheapness of labor; yet the mode taken by the chancellor of the exchequer to oppose such advantages, was to open the English market to French silks. After dilating on these topics, he was replied to by Mr. Wallace, who contended, that the high duty on the raw material was the principal reason why we had been inferior to others in this manufacture: but we now possessed great advantages in our Indian silk; and if the trade were thrown open, we might even supply the French market with this article: the silk of India was cheaper than that of Italy; and if there were no duty on the article, and no prohibition, England would be the mart for the raw material, as well as for the manufacture: if it were true, that we had reared a considerable trade under a

large duty; why should we despair of extending it, when that duty was abolished? Notwithstanding the opposition of partial interests, the scheme of ministers met with general support from both sides of the house, and was carried without difficulty. After various fluctuations, occasioned chiefly by the peculiar nature of the times; and after innumerable petitions, signed by multitudes in the various districts of the silk manufacture, predicting utter extirpation to the trade, and ruin to all engaged in it; we have the satisfaction of seeing the admirable effects resulting from a firm resistance made against ignorant and senseless clamor: the British silk trade is increased twofold since those predictions were uttered; and the articles manufactured, though lower in price, are equal in beauty, to the once coveted productions of the French or Indian loom. Among other important measures of relaxation carried by ministers, was the immediate removal of all unequal restrictions in the import and export trade of wool, and a gradual approach to the same system in the linen manufactures.

The renewal of the alien bill was resisted with unusual energy, especially by Mr. Hobhouse and Sir James Mackintosh: the act indeed was carried; but the mildness with which it was put into operation, was doubtless owing, in a great degree, to the rigid scrutiny to which it was subjected by these and other spirited individuals. The abuses of the church in Ireland, and of the court of chancery in England, led to much and vehement discussion, but to no legislative enactment.

Much attention was given to the state of the sister island in both houses; each of which appointed a committee of inquiry into its general condition. The close of this year, however, saw the establishment of a political engine of extraordinary power, in the Catholic Association; the energies of which were subsequently wielded with so much effect by Mr. O'Connell, a barrister of eminence, who soon became the acknowledged leader of the disaffected party, and encouraged them to effect by union and agitation, what had been denied to remonstrances and entreaties. Probably, at first, neither the government, nor the association itself, was aware of the extent to which its formidable powers could be carried: but it soon extended its correspondence, and appointed regular agents for every Roman catholic parish in the kingdom; when, having ascertained the influence

which it possessed over a great majority of the Irish people, it proceeded to levy a large revenue under the denomination of a catholic rent, and to usurp the functions both of legislative and executive authority.

END OF VOL. XX.

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